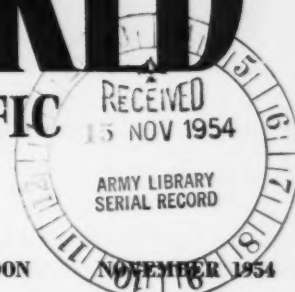


EASTERN WORLD

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Contents include:

POLITICS IN NEPAL

WERNER LEVI

***LAW AND THE
SECULAR STATE IN
INDIA***

J. D. M. DERRETT

***INDONESIA'S
FOREIGN POLICY
DILEMMA***

JUSTUS M. VAN DER KROEF

***HEALTH PROBLEMS
OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA***

JAMES S. MCKENZIE POLLOCK

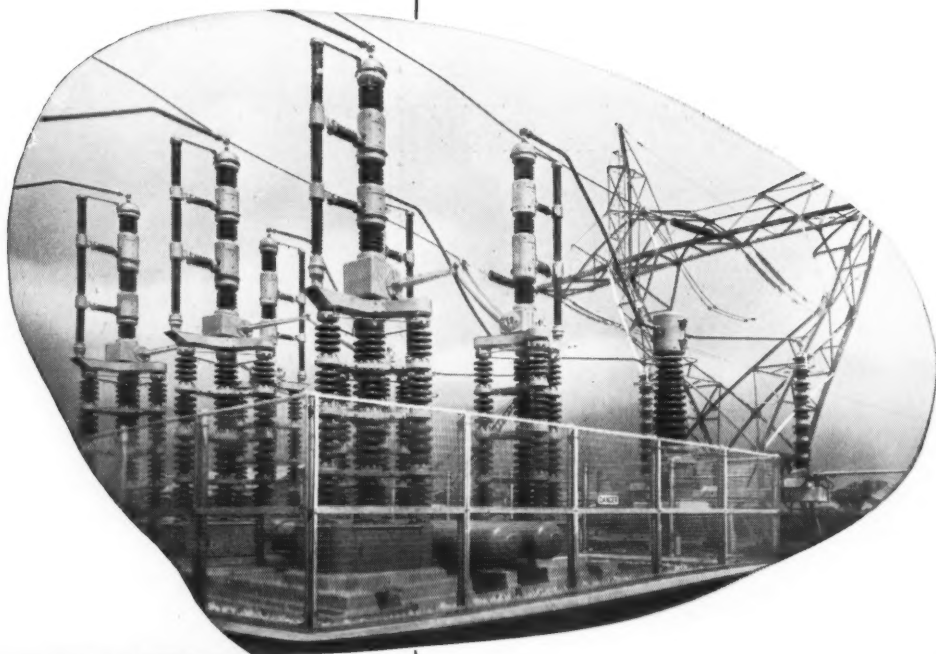
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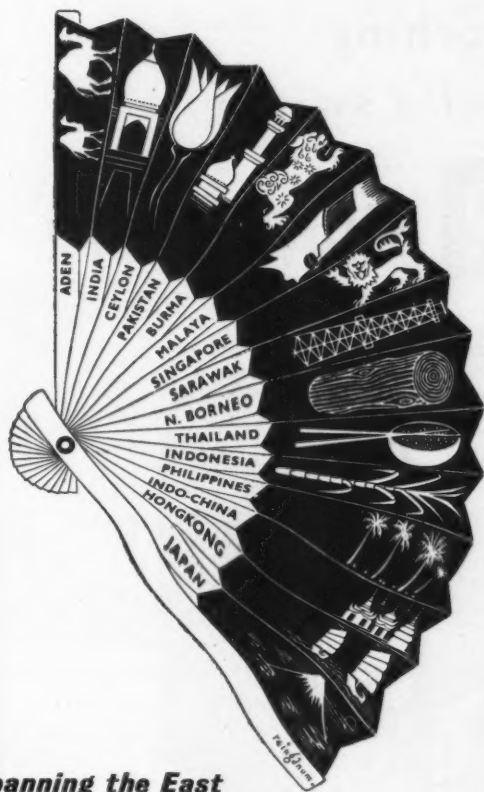
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL	7
Asia in Washington	David C. Williams 9
Politics in Nepal	Werner Levi 10
Law and the Secular State in India	J. D. M. Derrett 13
Golden Goa	J. W. Goodwin 14
Indonesia's Foreign Policy Dilemma	Justus M. van der Kroef 15
Kashmir Correspondence	Diplomatic Correspondent 19
Abraham Cartoon	19
Health Problems of South-East Asia	James S. McKenzie Pollock 20
Australia and Indo-China	Alan Barcan 22
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	23
LONDON NOTEBOOK	24
FROM ALL QUARTERS	25
BOOKS ON THE FAR EAST	28
The Magic of the Thai Hills	Bangkok Correspondent 34
This is My Mistress	Florence Hayes Turner 36
Arc Welding in the Jungle	M. P. Thomas 38
ECONOMIC SECTION	
Training Within Industry in India	Clifford Fee 39
Ceylon Enquiry	K. G. Navaratne 41
Farnborough and the East	Air Correspondent 43
Pakistan's Industries	Karachi Correspondent 45
Scottish Industries and the East	Glasgow Correspondent 48

COVER PICTURE SHOWS:

Sultan Mosque, Singapore (Picture by Sonia Pearson)

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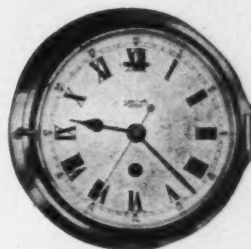
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EASTERN WORLD

London November 1954

Colombo Plan Gathers Momentum

THE half-way stage of the Colombo Plan's six-year programme has been reached, and only now does it seem to be really getting into its stride. The annual meeting of the participating governments, which was held in Ottawa last month, agreed that so much will remain to be done when the present programme ends in 1957, another will have to be undertaken.

The communiqué issued after the Ottawa conference recognised that the fundamental task of the Plan was to raise living standards in the countries of South-East Asia "in face of normal population growth." This is an enormous undertaking and a summary of the annual progress report (yet to be published) states that capital has to be mobilised on an increasing scale to decrease the gap between resources at present available or foreseen and development costs. Much attention has been given to creating conditions which will encourage foreign capital to the area, for hitherto foreign investment has been on a much smaller scale than would have been imagined.

An aspect of the Colombo Plan which is helping a great deal towards the development of the area is the Technical Cooperation Scheme. Only a quarter of the projected £8m. expenditure for technical cooperation in six years has so far been spent, but much has been achieved. Many new ideas for doing old jobs in "quicker, cheaper and less toilsome ways" have been introduced. As well as the use of modern equipment, it is necessary to import knowledge and experience into the region from the more advanced member countries, and to send trainees abroad. Up to June this year 1,653 persons had undertaken training since the scheme started, the majority in the study of agriculture and food production. The demand for experts, made available under the scheme from many countries, has been heaviest in the field of medicine and health.

As planning has given way to execution of projects, it has been possible to link the various forms of aid with the economic development programmes being carried on by the individual countries of the region. This has given the Plan less of an uncoordinated look and made for smoother running along the lines of planned development.

With the recent inclusion in the Plan of Thailand and the Philippines, together with Japan as a "donor" country, it is noteworthy that it is now the only organisation in which every independent non-Communist country of the region is represented. The Colombo Plan with its emphasis

on mutual cooperation and self help is the kind of body that does nothing to offend Asian susceptibilities about "aid with strings." It is a wise decision to go on with the Plan beyond 1957. As it is just now gathering momentum, it would be unrealistic to discontinue it when most was being achieved.

UNKRA

QUIETLY and industriously, with less notice taken of it than of its sister agencies, the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency goes ahead with its mammoth task.

It would be interesting to make a study of why the destruction of a country should receive more publicity than the rehabilitation of it.

So great was the devastation in Korea that the job of setting the country on its feet again would appear at first sight to have been bordering on the impossible. UNKRA, however, has never lost sight of the main principle of its assistance programme, which is to let the Korean people themselves do the reconstruction. UNKRA's place is to provide the materials and advise. In this way the enthusiasm of the people for creating something decent out of the chaos is translated to actuality.

The United Nations planned a £100m. programme for Korea, but UNKRA has to rely on what the member countries can afford to contribute, which, up to the middle of this year, was only just over a third of the planned amount. And Sir Arthur Rucker, deputy Director-General of the Agency, has said recently, "we do not know that we shall get the rest."

To leave the job unfinished would be disastrous for, apart from the evident necessity of it, the Korean people have come to take the activities of UNKRA as a symbol of the outside world's desire to reconstruct their country with the same thoroughness as they devastated it. Any project which has humanitarianism as one of its motives is worthy of moral and financial support. It is to be hoped that the member nations of UNKRA will not fail the Agency with the mission uncompleted.

China's "Asianism"

TWO events of some importance have taken place in the Far East in recent weeks that are likely to have a long term effect on the world political climate. The pivot of both events is China. It is axiomatic that as far as affairs in Asia are concerned, if not in the world as a whole, China's foreign relations are of the utmost concern.

The agreement that was reached in Peking last month between Russia and China puts the relationship between the two countries in a new perspective. Argument and discussion has been going on for some time in the West about how far the Peking regime was dependent upon Moscow for its material and ideological direction. It has been the contention of those persons well informed on Chinese affairs that the inspiration of the revolution did not come from the Soviet Union and that although China was Communist she did not have Russia to thank for it. A

recognition of such a fact by the Western Powers in their diplomatic relations with Mao Tse-tung might have resulted in a more settled state of world affairs. In the United States, Mr. Owen Lattimore is now being accused of Communist utterances for holding this point of view as long ago as 1947.

Although the Soviet Union holds the industrial advantage over China, she now has come to recognise that China is not the junior partner of the world's two largest Communist states. This is indicative of who holds the ideological initiative for the direction of affairs in the Far East, from the Communist point of view. It would seem that Russia has been manoeuvred into the position of helping China with money and materials, but at the same time accepting only a consultative role in matters concerning the Pacific and South-East Asia. It is scarcely a case of China leaning on Russia for material help, as many have suggested, but of Russia finding it absolutely vital to aid China.

China is more than just a Communist country, it is also an Asian country which, along with India, Indonesia, Burma and the rest, has shaken off the influence of the West. This factor is of great importance in her relations with Moscow. Viewed from Peking, the influence of Russia can be hardly more inviting than the encroachment of European countries or of the United States.

In these circumstances, the visit of Mr. Nehru to Peking, is of particular interest and is the second event of importance. An indication that "Asianism" is as vital a concept as Communism to the people of China, is the reception given to Mr. Nehru on his arrival, when a crowd of unprecedented size turned out to cheer him. He was also in almost immediate contact with Mao Tse-tung and his cabinet.

The Indian Prime Minister has always maintained that the kind of treaty which will guarantee peace and stability in Asia is one based on the five principles which govern the agreement between India and China. His talk with Ho Chi Minh in Hanoi produced a declaration that he wished to apply the principles to the three countries of Indo-China. Mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence recognise more clearly the aspirations towards stable development in Asia than do the principles which govern the SEATO treaty signed in Manila. If Mr. Nehru is able to secure from his Peking visit a concrete assurance that the five principles, if applied to the whole of South-East Asia, would be guaranteed, it is difficult to imagine how the countries of the region could fail to follow his lead in finally repudiating SEATO in favour of an overall pact with China.

The securing of guarantees from China could not be easy, even for Mr. Nehru. Communist hierarchies do not bind themselves to assurances lightly. But he was no doubt on firm bargaining ground once he had made it clear in Peking that even such fervent "Asianist" countries as Burma and Indonesia have been showing qualms about China's future attitude to South-East Asia.

It is unlikely that those countries consider that China presents an aggressive threat at this time, but as the nationalist fervour begins to abate, as it will if the Asian countries get together in finally repudiating western influence, it is possible that conditions will arise which could offer Peking-directed Communists an opportunity to cause disruption and unrest within individual countries of South-East Asia. This is an aspect of China's relations with her neighbours on which Mr. Nehru has already voiced strong opinions. It is unlikely that a short trip to China will change them.

His visit may also have an effect which will be felt over a wider sphere than South-East Asia. Mr. Nehru, for all that he is labelled pro-Communist in the United States, has ready listeners in the West who recognise his political and diplomatic wisdom. He knows, too, with what mental processes western statesmen reach conclusions. He is in the happy position of being a leading Asian statesman with a western intellectual background. Mao Tse-tung, on the other hand, although a Marxist, is no less an Asian than Mr. Nehru, and he has ready ears in Moscow. These two extremes of intellectual thought, meeting on the common ground of Asian problems, may go a long way towards reaching conclusions that will be invaluable for the maintenance of world peace and lessening global tension.

Government in Indo-China

THE behaviour of the Viet Minh troops when they officially took over from the French in Hanoi was markedly similar to that of the Chinese Communist soldiers in Shanghai six years ago. Their rigid discipline and scrupulous avoidance of anything that might alienate the populace is a pattern of conduct which has become part of Communist military doctrine. Not that the people of Hanoi would have been alienated easily. According to reports, the welcome given to the Viet Minh left no doubt as to which regime the Indo-Chinese in the north prefer.

It is not surprising. The confusion and intrigue in Saigon does not encourage the Indo-Chinese to believe that the well-being of their country can best be entrusted to those who hold the reins in the south at the moment.

The situation is absolutely uncomplicated for the ordinary man in Viet Nam. The leaders who have the French at their backs definitely do not have a grain of support from the people. That is one thing that gives Mr. Diem a certain strength: he wants to get rid of the French. General Dinh, with whom the Prime Minister has been in conflict, has the support of powerful French elements in Indo-China.

The result of the wrangle between the two has been an absence of effective government, and a gravitation towards the idea of a ruling class. Who can blame those who were evacuated from the north for returning there in large numbers to cheer the Viet Minh and call it "our own government"?

ASIA IN WASHINGTON

By David C. Williams (Washington)

THE clashes between the Communists and the Chinese Nationalists at Quemoy have come at an awkward time for the Republican Party, which has sought to present itself to the voters in the current Congressional campaign as the "party of peace." Glossing over the manner in which the Administration drew back at the very brink of intervention in Indo-China, Republican propagandists are repeating over and over again that Eisenhower "brought the boys home" from Korea—and rightly so, from their point of view, since every public opinion poll shows that this is much the most popular achievement of the present Administration.

As so often happens in politics, the Republicans are in danger of being caught in a trap of their own making. For years they blamed Democratic Administrations for the victory of the Communists in China, and talked of the superiority of a "liberation" policy to the policy of "containment" associated with President Truman and Secretary of State Acheson.

Almost immediately after they took power, the Republicans sought to give colour to their campaign claims by a much-publicised "unleashing" of Chiang Kai-shek's forces against the Chinese mainland. At the outbreak of the Korean War, President Truman had instructed the American navy to neutralise the Straits of Formosa—that is, to prevent an attack being launched in either direction across them. According to the officially proclaimed view, the new Administration had therefore freed Chiang Kai-shek of the shackles which the Democrats, accused of being "soft" towards the Communists, had clamped upon him.

For many months nothing happened. Then an enterprising American reporter discovered that the Administration, while publicly "unleashing" the Nationalists, had privately warned them to do nothing significant without its consent—a tactic which did credit to its discretion, but scarcely to its candour with the American people.

Nevertheless, Chiang Kai-shek was permitted to exploit the situation by conducting a number of raids and forays from Quemoy against the mainland—actions which could be the forerunners of actual invasion if the Nationalists should dare, and be permitted, to launch it. Now that these pinpricks have provoked the inevitable Communist retaliation, the Republicans (a self-proclaimed "party of peace") are in imminent danger of involving the United States in a war which it would have to fight alone, or at best in the inconsequential company of Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee.

There is no serious doubt here in Washington that a re-neutralisation of Formosa is the best way of assuring the survival of the Nationalists. But this would amount to a return to the policy of Truman and Acheson—a humili-

liating retreat which Democratic campaigners would hardly fail to exploit as a proof of the hollowness of Republican claims to have shaped a more effective foreign policy.

It is, of course, conceivable that Mr. Dulles could declare the Nationalist-held islands along the China coast, including Quemoy, as essential to the security of the United States and thus commit America to their defence. But this would be a sharp departure from the present trend towards "disengagement" and make necessary an immediate increase in the military budget.

Rather than make this hard decision, Mr. Dulles has seen fit to leave the Quemoy situation unclarified—in effect, to "keep the Communists guessing." But this also means keeping the American people in the same situation of uncertainty as the Chinese Communists.

Americans for Democratic Action, one of the nation's leading progressive organisations, has sought to resolve this dilemma by calling for the reference of the Quemoy dispute to the United Nations, with the object of obtaining an immediate cease-fire. "The future of Formosa," it declared, "should then be determined by the UN in accordance with the requirements of international peace and security and with the principle of self-determination."

There is little support here for Mr. Attlee's suggestion that Formosa should come under the Peking Government's control. Such an action would be regarded as a menace to world peace, because it would increase Communist power; it would also be regarded as quite immoral, since it would mean turning millions of Formosans over to totalitarian rule without their consent.

A solution being widely discussed here is that advocated by Chester Bowles, former American Ambassador to India. He thinks that both Formosa and Peking should have seats in the United Nations. The difficulty of the existence of two Chinese claimants to a permanent seat on the Security Council could, he suggests, be resolved by awarding this seat to some other major Asian nation—presumably India.

Bowles does not go so far as to advocate American recognition of the Peking regime. So far, no American politician has even dared to discuss this possibility, for fear of being smeared as an appeaser of Communism. It is interesting to note, however, that the association of university debating societies—which each year chooses subjects for university debates from one end of the country to the other—has announced as this year's topic: "Resolved: that the United States should extend diplomatic recognition to the Communist Government of China." Thus, thousands of university students in every part of America will soon be discussing a topic so "sensitive" that their elders hardly dare mention it!

POLITICS IN NEPAL

By Werner Levi (University of Minnesota, U.S.)

THE social and political revolution sweeping across Asia has, somewhat belatedly, reached Nepal. The movement for liberation from the autocratic Rana regime, begun in 1927, reached a climax in the autumn of 1950, which could not be prevented by last minute concessions by the Ranas to demands for the liberalisation of the government. With King Tribhuvana on their side, liberal forces fought the Ranas, mainly in the south of the country. They lost the brief, military struggle but won the political battle, due, largely, to Indian sympathy and political support. With the continued assistance from the Indian Government, the King has ever since been inaugurating political reforms designed to bring a democratic form of government to the country. However, his and his supporters' enthusiasm is out of line with Nepalese conditions and the result of this discrepancy has been that the changes introduced so far do not straightforwardly point in the direction of democracy. Instead, circumstances force them to follow a tortuous path.

As soon as the King returned from his flight to India at the end of the revolutionary fighting, on February 15, 1952, he addressed a proclamation "To All Our Beloved People" in which he expressed his desire that "the people be ruled by a democratic constitution framed by a constituent assembly elected by the people." This was a far-reaching promise to a people living in medieval feudalism and in a country in which the most elementary means of communication were absent. Nevertheless, the King proceeded to fulfil his promise by creating organs and conditions intended to end in democratic government. He established a transitional Council of Ministers to aid and advise him, composed of Ranas and of members of the country's most prominent party, the Nepali Congress. Towards the end of 1950, this Council was replaced by Nepal's first all-commoner Cabinet, and 105 years of Rana rule came to an end.

In April, 1951, the King proclaimed the Interim Government of Nepal Act, the so-called Interim Constitution, which created a regime resembling a constitutional monarchy. The act also envisaged the establishment of a Supreme Court, a Public Service Commission, and an Election Commission, as well as the appointment of a Comptroller and an Auditor General. It further contained a number of "directive principles" granting full civil liberties to the citizen and guaranteeing his equality before the law together with a wide range of social services. When during the months following the promulgation of this Act it was translated into reality and an Advisory Assembly was created in July, 1952, to represent all sections of the population, it seemed that Nepal was launched on the road to democracy.

Unfortunately, the King's policy was too advanced for the realities of Nepalese politics. The lack of discipline

and experience, the rivalries and jealousies among the political leaders combined with the restlessness prevailing among the population forced the King reluctantly to halt his reforms for a while and even to retrocede in some areas. The poor functioning of the Cabinet and the Advisory Assembly caused their dissolution and replacement by a six man Advisory Board in August and September, 1952. This measure was sanctioned by an Emergency Powers Act which enabled the King to act largely on his own responsibility. He proceeded to improve the security and administration of the country by a reform of the civil service, especially the weeding out of corruption and nepotism, a complete rebuilding of the army and police force, the drawing up of electoral rolls for the elections in 1955, the development of a judicial system, the introduction of a tax system and a national budget, and similar measures characterising a modern state. In all of these activities, which are still in progress, the King has had the closest cooperation of the Indian Government and the direct assistance of Indian experts.

Partly as a result of anxieties over the deteriorating internal situation, partly as a result of anxieties arising from Communist developments in Asia, especially Tibet, partly as a result of loyalty to the King and the country, the King was able in the summer of 1953 to abolish the highly unpopular Advisory Regime and to resume the progress towards more democratic government. In June, 1953, still in the face of some opposition, he appointed a non-partisan Cabinet to replace the Advisory Board. In February, 1954, this Cabinet was changed to a "national" Cabinet, composed of members from those parties which were willing to participate, three in all, the Nepali Congress not being among them. In May, 1954, the King again appointed an Advisory Assembly which he hoped would be composed of all parties. But several parties, among them the Nepali Congress and the Nepali National Congress, refused to cooperate on the grounds that an appointed assembly had no real standing or power and was merely a trick to postpone "long overdue" elections. On inauguration day only 61 of the 121 appointed members were present.

While the revival of the Cabinet and Assembly system indicates a resumption of the movement towards popular government, the King announced constitutional changes in February, 1954, which, as the opposition claimed with some justification, were a distinct step back towards a "police state." This was not altogether denied by the Prime Minister, M. P. Koirala, but it was justified as a necessary curb upon some lawless activities of opposition parties and for the sake of establishing law and order in the country. The essence of these changes was an increase in the power of the King and his Cabinet, a decrease in that of the Advisory Assembly and the Supreme Court, and

a limitation upon the civil liberties granted in the Interim Constitution.

This uneven course of developments towards a democratic regime reflects the political, social, and economic conditions in the country. Ever since the revolution of 1950 many parts of the country have been suffering from riots, minor revolts and plain banditry, with the dividing line between them sometimes hard to draw. The leaders of this lawlessness are disappointed or intriguing politicians, some Ranas, Communists, adventurers, and bandits. They are assisted in their activities by the poverty of the people; racial, communal, and sectional rivalries; inaccessibility of the countryside; weakness of the central government; and, to some extent, popular disappointment with the delay in social and economic reforms.

The King, his advisers, many politicians, and their Indian friends are convinced that these disturbances and the popular dissatisfaction which facilitates them cannot be eliminated until stability has been achieved in the government. But it appears difficult for many Nepalese leaders to draw the proper conclusions and bring the necessary sacrifices for the good of the country. They seem unable to control their ambitions. The struggle for power among the various factions and individuals continues unabated, absorbing their strength and causing a paralysing sense of insecurity throughout the country.

The factions competing for political control of Nepal are the Nepali Congress led by B. P. Koirala; the Nepali National Congress, led by Dilli Rama Regmi; the Communists and their front organisations among the students, women and peasants; the Ranas and their front organisation the Gurkha Parishad; and the National People's Party (Rashtriya Praja) of Prime Minister M. P. Koirala. These are the more important among the 35 organised groups.

On various occasions, usually when their rivalries forced the King to ignore them and govern without their participation, they formed a "united front" in opposition to the government. But these unions always fell apart quickly when the lure of office enticed one or the other group into the government camp. The King and his Prime Minister have recently taken advantage of this phenomenon with some success. The formation of a coalition or "national" Cabinet, and a coalition Advisory Assembly, in May, is attracting a sufficient number of parties and individuals to the government seriously to weaken the opposition. Unfortunately, B. P. Koirala and his party are not members of the coalition. Neither the King nor important Indian friends have been able to overcome the eternal rivalry between him and his half-brother, the Prime Minister, which has been one of the fundamental, disturbing factors in Nepalese politics. In view of the influence and prominence of B. P. Koirala, his opposition to the present government is an ominous fact. Fortunately, he is enough of a patriot to prevent the breakdown of the governmental process by his activities. The factions and forces united in the present government may therefore be able to bring under control the more extremist elements, such as the Communists on the left

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and the Gurkha Parishad on the right. For, what is so often true in nascent Asian democracies is true also in Nepal: political parties are appendices of leading individuals rather than the representatives of fundamental principles and issues. Once these leaders are appeased by the grant of office, the issues which seemingly separated them from their opponents lose their importance. Besides, there is in any case far-reaching agreement among a large number of Nepalese leaders about the needs of the country, internally and externally. Their desire for a part in the government may well spring from an eagerness to have a share in the modernisation of their country.

The road building programme—250 miles of all-weather highways now exist—the plan for general elementary education, for land reform, for health improvement, for currency stabilisation, for a fair tax structure, find almost universal approval. But Nepal is quite unable, financially or technically, to undertake these programmes without foreign aid. Disagreements arise frequently among individuals and parties over the kind of aid to be requested and the form in which it is to be delivered. The intense nationalism of many Nepalese and also the usefulness of the foreign aid issue in internal political manoeuvring have made it a prominent subject of political debate. The government's intimate relations with the Indian Government in particular have been severely criticised by various Nepalese factions. India supplies a major share of foreign aid and large numbers of Indian experts, including a military mission, can be found in Nepal. The Indian

Government's role in the attempts to create a stable government is prominent and well known. The result has been that the government is accused of making Nepal an Indian satellite and that even physical violence against Indians in Nepal has occurred. However, the King as well as the Prime Minister insist that geographic, political, and cultural factors make close friendship with India necessary and desirable.

Communism, too, has become an important issue, especially since the Chinese took over Tibet. Officially, the government is maintaining a neutral position towards Communist China, very similar to India. Negotiations are now proceeding for a treaty to replace the relationships established by treaties during the last century. But the government is quite clearly concerned about Communism within Nepal. Although the party is forbidden, Communist activity is lively in all parts of the country. In some remote

parts Communists have actually taken control, and the voting trend during recent municipal elections in Katmandu was distinctly towards the extreme left. The Communists follow the official line by agitating against the "Anglo-American imperialists" who are using Nepal as a base of attack against China, and by causing disturbances in the capital and the provinces. There is evidence of Communist propaganda coming across the borders from Tibet, and many a Communist leader, wanted by the Nepalese police, has found refuge there. The United States, which is supplying aid to Nepal, has come under attack on various occasions by the Communists and more moderate groups. She is suspected of working with the reactionary Gurkha Parishad, and of using her technical experts to establish undue influence in Nepal. But no evidence has ever been produced to substantiate these charges.

LAW AND THE SECULAR STATE IN INDIA

By J. D. M. Derrett

WHEN England was not yet a secular state, while God and the King were still the twin arbiters of secular matters, it was widely believed that Parliament could not validly legislate contrary to the "law of God." Sir Thomas More, among others, died for this belief, and traces of it are to be found in the Law Reports of the eighteenth century or as late as the early years of the following century. But the Parliaments of Henry VIII did effectively legislate on religious matters, and the precedent served through the reign of Charles II and beyond, when the "establishment" of the Church of England by law confirmed the work of an earnest minority. That very success in fact hastened the eventual severance between spiritual and secular jurisdictions, and by the time when the British first came into a position of wide responsibility in India the English law not only rejoiced in that severance but was convinced of the entire sovereignty of Parliament. India, a country of a very different history, where no one religion has gained the upper hand and where, to quote Mr. Nehru, "secular state" means "free play for all religions, subject only to their not interfering with each other or with the basic conceptions of the State," is nevertheless the heir to both those English traditions, and it is of interest to see how religion is being treated in a country professing to be a secular state by contrast with Pakistan on the one hand, which adheres to Islam, or with Burma on the other, which formally recognises the special position of Buddhism in the national life.

In India itself many highly intelligent Hindus, for example, believe that better solutions might be found to contemporary legal problems if more instead of less regard were paid to the accumulated learning of past centuries, whose authority the "orthodox" believe to rest ultimately upon a religious sanction. On the other hand, an advanced and vocal minority claim that secularisation is the goal of

modern history and that in the matter of private law, for example, a rationalistic Civil Code would be the only practical answer to the present contrast and conflict of systems. This last attitude, obviously caught from the West, militates directly against the instincts of adherents of a religion which demands public and social expression of inward beliefs, and indeed has long been thought inseparable from their whole way of life. It is unfortunate for the latter that traditional Hinduism, apart from other characteristics, is in some ways "undemocratic" in the commonly-accepted Anglo-American senses.

Though it was during the British period a maxim of governmental policy to interfere as little as possible with religious matters and with laws supposedly based upon religion, reforms of the Hindu law in particular date back over a century. *Suttee* was prohibited; the remarriage of widows was permitted; outcasts were allowed to retain their property-rights, and cripples and the chronic sick were permitted to inherit. These were among the few but radical changes carried out in the teeth of "orthodox" opposition. But before Independence the pace quickened. Provincial and state legislatures, composed in several cases of members belonging to all or most communities, passed Acts directly or indirectly attacking religious beliefs or their practical expression. Since then the pace has been increased, despite the constitutional guarantee of the freedom of religion, and the removal of foreign rule has not led to any accretion of strength to the "orthodox" parties. Voices raised in lament at the abolition of *suttee* do not now attract many supporters. On the other hand, while the vast majority of Indians seem to be, at most, lukewarm in support of the general policy of purification and modernisation to which the small but powerful class of educated and "liberated" Hindus are pledged, the "orthodox" both pity the masses for their complacency

and question the ultimate wisdom of the course steered by the reformers, who seem to them to be either ignorant of, or indifferent towards, their "cultural heritage."

Before 1947, Baroda, under her far-sighted ruler, had passed the pioneering Hindu Act (1937), which first allowed divorce among higher-caste Hindus married in a religious form, it also prohibited bigamy except in extreme cases, whereas the Hindu law tended more frequently to encourage the practice. In this step Baroda was followed by the stricter Bombay Act of 1946. Mysore State had reorganised the property-rights of women in the famous Act of 1933, which entirely changed the law of inheritance for Hindus in that state, a law which most people believed at the time (with little justification however) to be founded upon a religious doctrine. The Bombay legislature had, by the Invalidation of Hindu Ceremonial Emoluments Act (1926), given the *coup de grace* to a survival of the ancient system by which important households had maintained hereditary domestic chaplains: a bond then already of a more sentimental than practical value was deliberately shattered. Much more important was the Bombay Devadasis Protection Act (1934) which prohibited the dedication or self-dedication of women to idols, validated the marriage of previously dedicated women, and legitimated their issue by such marriages. This effort to stamp out the immorality which had become associated with the lives of such women, "married" to the idols of prominent temples, could not scruple to trample upon Hindu religious sentiment, which regarded as irrevocable the ceremony of dedication by which these women bound themselves to their divine lord and master.

Independence coincided with a further movement in the same direction. A Madras Act of 1947 prohibited the dedication of devadasis in that state (which then included the present Andhra State), and first Bombay and then Madras provided for divorce among Hindus. This reform was of all those promulgated or suggested the most shocking to the majority of higher-caste Hindus, who have assented to it only as a concession to human weakness. In 1949, Bombay took the step of following the bold Caste Tyranny Removal Act of Baroda (1933) and, not merely abolished the power of out-casting which remained the only remedy in the hands of caste-leaders against members of the community who defied its social and moral rules, but even imposed a penalty on all who should purport to excommunicate an offender. The enormity of this reform can be appreciated only if it be borne in mind that before the British period the state had enforced the moral and "legal" laws together, upholding the right of the community to impose its own sanctions against members guilty of breaches of duty which were not necessarily criminal. The origin of this prerogative dated directly back to the very ancient past, when police and an institutionalised criminal law were alike unknown, and when the disapproval of the community expressed by ostracism was the most effective and consistent sanction to check misbehaviour. The maintenance of social standards including the standard of religious observance, has remained the special duty of the caste. If the British refused it substantial active support, it has been left to the

Bombay State legislature to abolish the authority to excommunicate, and thus to remove the last means of enforcing public opinion in matters religious.

Caste, a central feature of Hinduism, was hitherto preserved, in so far as conscious thought shaped social development, with the object of maintaining the existing order. Abstention from familiar intercourse with other castes was a duty laid upon all Hindus, in order to protect them from contamination which might prejudice the regular performance of those religious duties upon which principally their salvation depended; any contact with persons beyond caste, whose low condition of life was thought to reflect the sins committed by them in previous existences would degrade, deprave and corrupt. Sin and spiritual negligence were contagious according to the orthodox doctrine. Hence the practice of "untouchability," which has not altogether unreasonably, attracted so much ridicule from foreign observers. Inter-caste marriage was always feared, from the most ancient times, as a source of the embarrassing element known as "mixed castes." The central legislature in 1949 authorised marriages between all Hindus, Sikhs and Jains, and the Special Marriage Act of 1954 enables marriage to take place between Indians of every community, without that safeguard which the orthodox caused to be inserted in the Act's eighty-year-old predecessor, namely that Hindus party to such unions should be cut off from their families for all secular purposes. The Hindu Marriage and Divorce Bill now before the Indian Parliament would confirm the Act of 1949 and would improve upon the local divorce Acts.

Moreover, the Constitution, by Articles 15 and 17, renders unlawful all aspects of untouchability. The spirit of this general provision was partly realised in anticipation by the East Punjab Removal of Religious and Social Disabilities Act, 1948, and the similar enactments of West Bengal (1948) and Bihar (1949, 1951), but a Bill has been published by which the Indian Parliament is expected to implement the intention of the Constitution more comprehensively for the whole country. Thus out-castes and pariahs will be able to use common wells, tanks, shops and streets, and their proximity will be forced upon those who sincerely, if mistakenly, regard their very shadow as unclean. Caste as an institution is to be rooted out, notwithstanding the religious sanctions which still operate to justify it in the conscience of a very large body of Hindus.

More immediately striking from the religious standpoint are the so-called Temple Entry Acts of Madras, Travancore and Bombay: these implement forcibly the desire of the masses to be admitted to temples founded and endowed by higher castes in previous ages. According to the orthodox classes the contagion spread by this unauthorised influx has desecrated numerous famous temples, now unfit for worship. The Acts can enable people to enter freely, but they cannot deprive the temple-entrants of their ritual uncleanness. The legislatures, it seems, have taken the view that if the religion in question is not sufficiently broad-minded it ought to be, and its adherents must make the necessary adjustments. Even more startling is the Madras Animals and Birds Sacrifices

Prohibition Act of 1950, which directly affronts the widespread belief among certain Hindus that occasional animal sacrifices are a valuable adjunct to worship: acting upon a theory of the purity of Hinduism, whether from Vedic or Vedantic sources we cannot tell, the legislators, many of whom were not Hindus at all, abolished the right to offer worship in a manner recognised since time immemorial.

Perhaps the greatest uproar has been called forth by the apparently innocuous and praiseworthy enactments which may be conveniently referred to as Religious Trusts Acts. Bombay, Madras and Bihar for example, have provided that religious trusts and endowments must be registered and submitted to inspection of accounts, and, if need be, administration by a State-erected supervisory body. Peculation and neglect have sadly diminished many valuable institutions such as schools, colleges, hospitals, libraries and other charities, which pious donors set up or endowed for their or their relations' spiritual merit. Naturally, say the caste-members concerned, the properties were not intended either to contribute to secular purposes, such as the cost of the Boards, or that non-caste people, or even non-co-religionists, might supervise them. Appealing to the Fundamental Rights conferred by the Constitution, managers of these endowments have impugned the Acts with varying success. Fees for the ultimate benefit of the beneficiaries of the institutions have been upheld; a subtle distinction between a fee and a tax has been called into play; and the religious freedom which had been safeguarded by the Constitution has been declared to be religious freedom envisaged in the context of a secular state. It is not every aspect of religion, we are told, that has been safeguarded, nor has the Constitution provided against interference with every religious activity. "Religion" has been judicially interpreted to mean that which binds a man to his Creator (if he believes in one) or to his moral or ethical principles (if he does not), and secular activities of a religion are not "religion" within the meaning of the Constitution. This dichotomy is good law but is utterly

out of keeping with orthodox sentiment and Hindu tradition. We may not sympathise for example with the Jaina belief that a valuable manuscript is desecrated if touched by the hand of a meat-eater, but such views are genuinely religious and are nothing if not insulted by a judicial pronouncement that government servants may inspect the monastery's property because religion's external and secular expressions are not protected by the Constitution.

To few western observers will it be easy to side with the orthodox against the reformers. The obstinacy of the former seems to be perverse, unreasonable and a hindrance to progress. But it is sincere and religious in character. The conduct of the other party, by contrast, is that of a minority backed by a lukewarm or apathetic body among the general public enforcing its views on moral questions upon the more scrupulous, in defiance of tradition and without a serious desire to search for a compromise, if one is possible. Many think that compromise and gradual adjustment might long be awaited in vain, and patience is not characteristic of reformers generally. If the present course is maintained the orthodox will go to the wall, but they will not for that reason yield their consciences and many of the general public will openly or secretly take their part.

The educated Hindu of today frequently suffers from a sort of split-mind, sympathising sentimentally with the old faith, yet believing rationally in what his developing State demands of him. It seems that unless some advance in the understanding of this problem—far more difficult than is generally believed—is soon achieved the internal conflicts will worsen to everyone's disadvantage. The frontal attack made by European-type secularism upon established, if logically indefensible, beliefs has not hitherto been digested, and a spiritual reintegration is plainly clamoured for, which will demand the best of India's theologians. Heart, conscience, and civil duty have been sundered already too long, as India is well aware, and the alchemist who can recombine them will earn the world's, as well as India's, homage.

GOLDEN GOA

By J. W. Goodwin

GOLDEN Goa they called it 400 years ago, when it was the most sumptuous city ever built by Europeans in the East and when even common soldiers walked the streets in magnificent clothes, shaded from the sun by parasols carried by slaves.

Golden Goa they still called it a century later, when an East India Company official, himself no stranger to splendour, was amazed to see the viceroy ride out with a retinue of 400 hidalgos, each with 12 personal attendants dressed in silk and with six tall negroes carrying drawn swords.

Golden Goa they called it in those days, when it was as populous as London and far wealthier, and when every

viceroy had a good chance of making £500,000 in three years of office.

Today, in neighbouring Bombay, they still say "Golden Goa," but Europeans who have seen its tarnished glories say it somewhat derisively, while Indian officials who know that the gold is for smuggling into India say it tartly. Contraband gold and *cajel* (a local liquor) is what this Portuguese colony means to the harassed Customs officials of "dry" Bombay.

About a day's journey—and goodness knows how many years of historic time—separate Bombay from Goa. The travel folders tempt with the siren-song of Latin music, fiesta, magnificent churches, and a suggestion of

unlimited alcohol. Since prohibition has made a long, bedewed glass doubly desirable under the Bombay sun many week-end trippers take the churches on trust and are only dimly conscious of the synthetic music and fiesta. "Little Portugal" is what the tourist agents call it and almost the sole reminder of today in this little land of yesterday is the result of Portuguese neutrality during the war: the three jagged shapes half-submerged in the harbour are scuttled German cargo ships.

An inquisitive visitor might find out that the Minister for Overseas Provinces has promised a much needed airfield and that there is talk of telegraph improvements, but these things seem anachronisms. Goa is an island in time.

The traveller arriving by sea first sees the ruins of a castle and then Pangim or Nova Goa with lime-white belfries rising calmly above an eruption of coconut, mango and cashew groves. Below them the red earth is baked to choking powder in the dry winter or churned to gory runnels by the summer rains. The same red ochre vies with bright blues and faded greens on the plaster fronts of the houses; their peeling shutters on sagging hinges could be Indian but the curving wrought iron balconies can only be Iberian.

Despite the Moghul fort that is now the Secretariat, despite the darker complexions of the Malabar coast and the sound of Konkani tongues, Nova Goa seems more European than Indian. The leisurely buses with bodies of burnished brass might have glowed in the French Midi and the taxis have almost certainly seen better days in Paris. Street signs are in Portuguese, though many people speak a local dialect. White-robed priests stride silently among the peasants in dust-stained coloured shawls, and the faces under the high black lace mantillas are no paler than those above the sarees also going to Mass. Instead of the more assertive symbols of Hinduism, the wayside shrines and crucifixes stand in the scorching sun like human holocausts. In Goa, although the colony is probably more Catholic than any other part of India, about half the 600,000 people are Hindus or Muslims.

Dreamy and dusty after the noisy modernity of Bombay, Nova Goa is still a town of the living. Velha Goa, of the conqueror Albuquerque and the saintly Xavier, is a city of the dead, abandoned to the mosquito and the lizard after the fever and plague of more than 200 years ago.

Time was when one of its proud citizens could write

that it was imprudent that there should have been sent amongst them a man whose way of life was a scandal, who would undermine their influence when the natives saw that all Europeans were not splendid conquerors. This was not 1942, before the Japanese shattered the myth of white superiority, but 1542. The cause of the scandal had declined to go in procession, carried in a palanquin, and had walked barefooted from the wharf to the hospital where he washed the sores of the lepers. This notorious man, this threat to European prestige, is now honoured as St. Francis Xavier.

In those days, also, Goa was threatened. It is probably the only colony ever defended by banning the sale of horses—then strategic war material. Shallow channels separating the island fortress from the mainland were several times crossed by Indian cavalry, so—since horses will not breed in southern Indian—the Portuguese fleet restricted their importation to friendly princes.

Now, with fewer than 1,000 inhabitants, Velha Goa comes to life only for religious festivals. A causeway leads towards desolation where baroque churches moulder in the midst of gnarled thorn and fig trees like over-dressed dowagers in a garden gone to weeds. Pigs grunt where the Rua Direita ran from the waterfront Arch of the Viceroys, lizards scamper in the Terreiro de Sabaio, and cattle graze in the ruined market of what had been the Emporium of the East. Nevertheless, five great churches and a cathedral are perfectly preserved by the home authorities.

The inquisitive traveller will discover, before he is lured there by the travel folders, that Goa is technically an integral part of Portugal, where all important legislation is enacted. He will learn that most of the people are farmers or fishermen, although much of the food has to be imported from India, that it is a little smaller than Lancashire, that its chief exports are iron ore to Japan, manganese to the United States, and its own young people to Bombay and British East Africa as clerks.

When he gets there he will find—or he would have done until recently—an old-fashioned happy unconcern for politics. It is a land drenched in sun and drugged with time, in which it seems always afternoon. Even without the aid of cajal or more orthodox drinks, one either drifts into the local customs of golden dreams or plunges boldly through the time barrier into the present—and the Bombay boat. Goa is a slow, sweet poison that could get you for good in the end.

INDONESIA'S FOREIGN POLICY DILEMMA

By Justus M. van der Kroef (Michigan State College, U.S.)

ON April 22, 1954 it was announced in the Djakarta, Indonesia, Press that the conference of Asian Socialists, arranged to be held in Bandung, Indonesia, from April 27 to May 1, would not take place because the Indonesian Government had refused entry visas to the delegation from Israel. The reason for this refusal was the official desire to avoid "undesirable reactions" from the Muslims in Indonesia, and also, according to some sources, because the Indonesian Government did not wish to give offence to the Arab

countries, whose enmity for Israel is shared by many Indonesians. It should also be noted that the Indonesian Socialists are in opposition to the present Sastroamidjojo cabinet. This incident, though hardly noted in the world Press, marks in a sense a culmination of foreign policy developments in Indonesia, since the country officially attained its independence in December, 1949. It is also an example of by what strange highways and byways Asian "neutralism" can sometimes travel. For the executive council of the Indonesian Socialist Party

was quick to point out that the Indonesian Government had had apparently no objection to the entry of the Australian Communist leader L. Aarons, who was permitted to participate in and address various gatherings of the Indonesian Communist Party (a fact later deplored as "tactless" by vice-Premier Wongsonogoro) and that the Indonesian Government also received a trade delegation from East Germany, a country, like Israel, with which Indonesia has no official diplomatic connections.

Indonesia's "neutrality," or as her statesmen prefer to call it, her "independent" foreign policy, has in the past five years expressed itself both negatively and positively. While entertaining formal diplomatic relations with both the United States and the Peking Government and succeeding in opening an embassy in Moscow, the Indonesian Government has on the whole been anxious to circumvent any development that could be construed as an adherence to either camp in the Cold War. The premiers preceding the present one have repeatedly taken measures to stamp out any internal Communist threat, while at the same time they have made it clear that any attempt on the part of the United States to win Indonesia over by means of technical assistance (though acceptable without military commitments), or a common defence agreement will be resisted. In the councils of the United Nations, Indonesia's voting record cannot be regarded as a basis of unequivocal support to either power bloc, though by some American observers, who adhere to the ideology that "he who is not for us is against us," that record is interpreted as open, or thinly veiled approval of the Communist line. Yet, despite her claims to independence in matters of foreign policy, there can be little question that Indonesia does belong to a political faction of sorts, namely those powers referred to as the "Afro-Asian bloc," as her recent stand towards Israel again makes clear. Nor can there be much doubt that the chief Arab nations regard Indonesia almost as one of their own. The Egyptian paper *Al Ahram* stated, shortly after Israeli Socialists had been refused entry into Indonesia, that "Indonesia does not recognise Israel and will never recognise her." At the same time Indonesia has been an outspoken foe of the remnants of colonialism in Africa and Asia. Her stand in support of Moroccan and Tunisian nationalism has been particularly noteworthy in this connection. The Tunisian nationalist Salah ben Youssef was accorded almost full diplomatic recognition during his recent stay in Indonesia, and when on March 25, 1954, the French Government protested to the Indonesians about this open display of friendship for a nationalist figure regarded as *persona non grata* by the French, the Indonesian Government rejected the protest and declared that Indonesia, in common with the other Afro-Asian nations, had taken a definite stand on the Tunisian problem, and that its attitude toward Youssef's visit was dictated by "courtesy, which Indonesia was required to observe."

In the implementation of her foreign policy principles Indonesia does find herself increasingly in a dilemma, caused both by internal problems and by tensions abroad. A case in point is her present economic condition. To further her development, Indonesia requires large capital injections and technical aid, which for the time being only the western powers seem willing to give on any considerable scale. Yet the present strong aversion to anything resembling a new economic imperialism via foreign investment and the equally strong tendency towards nationalisation of enterprise and a collectivist economy frighten western investors away from the country. There are Indonesian leaders who see this problem very clearly. On May 5, 1954, vice-president Mohammad Hatta stated that it would not be good for Indonesia if all existing enterprises would be nationalised. Much more preferable, in his opinion, would be the construction of new enterprises. Those who accused him and others of not being "radical" enough should be treated with a smile, stated Hatta. Former premier Mohammad Natsir, chairman of the Masjumi Party, declared on May 14, 1954, that though the Sastroamidjojo cabinet had announced a policy of creating a "favourable climate" for foreign capital in Indonesia, there was no reason to believe that the government was really working in that direction. In this connection he pointed to the ineffective measures taken against the squatters who illegally occupy foreign-owned estates in the tobacco-producing area of East Sumatra, and to the oil fields of North Sumatra, which still

have not been returned to their foreign owners. Such foreign capital as is now invested sometimes receives special protection declared Natsir, but in such a way that it cannot effectively exploit its concessions. The situation is all the more dangerous, according to the former premier, because Indonesia stands on the brink of fiscal disaster: the gold reserve has steadily diminished in the past eight months and may already have dropped below the legal limit of 20 per cent., while the present cabinet has increased the public debt at a rate of 290 million Rupiah per month.

Although Natsir as political opponent of the present cabinet, may perhaps have overstated his case somewhat, there can be little reason to doubt Indonesia's present economic plight. In view of this fact the recent statement of the Indonesian Economic Affairs Minister Iskaq Tjokrohadisurjo, that Indonesia does not really need a gold reserve at all (*Nieuwsgier*, Djakarta, May 24, 1954), is hardly calculated to increase confidence abroad. It should be noted however that much of the blame for the economic deterioration must be laid at the door of the United States, which until the end of the Korean war, was a major buyer of Indonesia's rubber and tin. Inasmuch as Indonesia's main source of state revenue comes from export-import levies on important trade items such as rubber, oil, sugar, coffee and so on, a diminishing demand abroad has grave consequences for countries that rely so heavily for their economic health on a few exportable raw materials. The United States, interested in protecting her synthetic rubber industry, and unable to continue her stock piling policies of the Korean war period, has thus come to be regarded in Indonesia (and among other rubber producing countries) as a major obstacle to Indonesia's economic development. At the May, 1954, meeting of the Rubber Study Group in Colombo, it was pointed out that the lifting of the restriction on rubber shipments from England and Malaya to the Soviet Union would bring very little improvement, inasmuch as Russia obtains her rubber from the Chinese People's Republic, which in turn gets it from Ceylon, on the basis of long term contracts. The US General Services Administration, chief government purchasing agency of strategic materials, did recently announce a new permanent "rotation" policy of rubber purchases in order to accommodate South-East Asian producers, but it is doubtful if this measure is an adequate solution.

Thus far the US has turned a deaf ear to plans designed to stabilise prices of major raw materials (like the programme suggested last January by the Indonesian ambassador to the US, Mukarto Notowidigdo), even though an American congressional study committee for Asia and the Pacific headed by Walter Judd has recommended some kind of international regulation aiming towards stabilisation. Moreover, the report of the Randall Commission on Foreign Economic Policy for the US came as a disheartening shock to Indonesian observers. Sumitro Djojohadikusomo, a former cabinet minister and one of the country's top economists, termed the Randall report "an evil omen of what lays ahead" for the underdeveloped countries (*Ekonomi dan Keuangan Indonesia*, April, 1954, p. 278). Thus it seems that Indonesia's economy is destined to remain caught between the economic policies and limited needs of her chief potential buyers in East and West. In this dilemma there is but one certainty: the record of aid extended by the US to nations looking with favour on American policy interests. Economic ruin is a very high price to pay for independence in foreign policy, as some Indonesian leaders are beginning to realise.

The conflicts and tensions between the members of the Afro-Asian bloc often augment Indonesia's foreign policy dilemma. This became clear at the recent Colombo conference. The attitude of the Asian dominions, Pakistan and Ceylon, towards the potential threat of expansion by the Peking Government deviated considerably from that of Indonesia, separated as she is from the Chinese mainland by a greater area of land and sea. Burma, another member of the conference, has outlawed the Communist Party, but in Indonesia the present cabinet depends on Communist parliamentary support. The participants in the Colombo conference went on record as rejecting any foreign interference, be it Communist or non-Communist in nature, in the internal affairs of the South Asian nations. But, as the Indonesian newspaper *Indonesia Raya* pointed out, in view of the demonstrable fact that any Communist Party outside Russia is a

tool of Moscow's policy, this resolution means that the present cabinet in Indonesia is in fact committed to prohibit all Communist activity in the country. It is clear that for the time being the cabinet will take no such step.

Then there is the matter of US policy. Pakistan (along with non-Colombo powers like Thailand and the Philippines) has agreed to participate in SEATO, the US-sponsored South-East Asia mutual defence organisation. Indonesia on the other hand has more than once indicated that she regards such American efforts, particularly in conjunction with the colonial powers of Asia, as anathema. In as much as SEATO has now come into being, Indonesia would be surrounded by countries like the Philippines, Malaya and Australia, in the main committed to the interests of the United States. Therefore Indonesia might become a mere "neutralist" appendix of India and some Middle Eastern powers, and would unquestionably suffer the consequences. It is perhaps for these reasons that Indonesian premier Ali Sastroamidjojo has been active in calling together a conference of the Afro-Asian countries some time this year, so as to give this group of nations greater cohesion and to consider common problems. It is perhaps also why Indonesia's ministry of Foreign Affairs has recently stated that the Indonesian Government would certainly give consideration to a non-aggression pact with Communist China, although the interests of Indonesia's "independent" foreign policy should not be harmed by such a pact.

In Indonesia, reaction to the possibility of a pact with China either multi-laterally (with India and Burma) or bilaterally has been extremely varied. Some have pointed out that the present cabinet must also rely on the parliamentary backing of certain anti-Communist right wing parties like Nahdatul Ulama, as well as those of the left, and that because of this polarisation of support, the present Indonesian Government would be unable to conclude any kind of agreement, either with Peking or with the US until the outcome of the first national elections to be held in early 1955. Other sources believe that for the time being the geographic distance between China and Indonesia precludes any direct aggression by either side and that the Chinese danger to Indonesia rather should be sought in the questionable loyalty of the 2 million Chinese minority in Indonesia, especially of the younger generation who appear to be heavily influenced by Peking. These groups point to the fact that thus far the Peking Government has been very reluctant to agree with Indonesia on the nationality question of the Indonesian Chinese, whereby in fact the impression is created that the overseas Chinese are subject to Peking's authority. And still others, notably militantly anti-Communist Muslim elements, regard the possible conclusion of a non-aggression pact as but yet another step towards economic and political disaster for Indonesia.

In her relations with other Asian states, Indonesia's position often also appears somewhat equivocal. A case in point is her policy towards Japan. Here the great stumbling block is the question of reparations and indemnity, a matter which by now threatens to obstruct much needed economic cooperation between the two countries. Indonesia has asked of Japan 7.5 billion dollars in compensation for wartime damages (originally she demanded 18 billion dollars), but after prolonged negotiation both in Japan and in Indonesia, the Japanese declined to offer more than 125 million dollars along with some special services like salvaging of sunken ships. As a result of this impasse, Indonesia's attitude towards Japanese business interests in Indonesia has markedly stiffened in the past six months. For example, on April 26, 1954, the Indonesian Government stated that the residence permits of a small number of Japanese business men in Indonesia could not be extended, on the grounds that "the international situation would not allow it." A better explanation of the move was given by the president of the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce, who saw in the refusal a sign of Indonesia's growing impatience with Japan's reparations policy, a view shared by many other observers. Yet few countries in Asia could be of such great economic value to Indonesia as Japan, and both countries are in many ways each other's natural complement. A group of Indonesian business men, belonging to the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce, who recently visited Japan were well impressed by that fact. Though trade between Japan and Indonesia has increased in the past two years, a long term exchange arrangement, whereby



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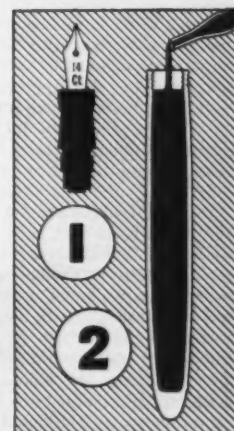
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Indonesia would send Japan her raw materials and receive cheap industrial goods and machinery in return, would be an important step towards the continued economic recovery of both nations.

Then there is the question of whether or not Indonesia is really entitled to any indemnities at all. When the Japanese occupied the East Indies during the second world war, Indonesian leaders appear to have been either indifferent to or openly pleased with their arrival. One student of contemporary Indonesia has put the matter this way: "When finally the Japanese attack came, the overwhelming majority of educated nationalists either welcomed it because of their anticipation that conditions under the Japanese would be better or remained apathetic because of the conviction that things would probably at least be no worse" (George McT. Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, Ithaca, 1952). While it is equally certain that Japanese brutality alienated many Indonesians in the occupation years, the fact remains that such outstanding political figures as Sukarno and Hatta collaborated with the Japanese to the end and that the Japanese greatly assisted the Indonesian independence movement. Furthermore, Sukarno himself approved, or at least tacitly permitted, many of the more harrowing exploitative measures of the Japanese, such as the recruitment of Javanese labour for occupied foreign areas. The present Indonesian position however seems to be that Indonesia was a completely unwilling victim of Japanese aggression and hence is entitled to full compensation. On moral and legal grounds alone this view is debatable, let alone the fact of the practical necessity of economic cooperation between Japan and Indonesia. In this problem Indonesia again finds herself in a peculiar dilemma. To compromise further with Japan would in fact mean the surrender of her moral position of having been wholly victimised by the latter during the occupation, while refusal to compromise would continue to deprive her of an extremely useful economic partner.

In the past few months Indonesian-Japanese relations have been made more difficult because of Indonesia's unfavourable trade balance with Japan. Her trade debt to Japan now stands in excess of US 150m. dollars and Indonesia's procrastination in making arrangements to pay this debt, as well as her own unstable export position, led the Japanese Government to impose stringent export restrictions on goods for Indonesia, especially various kinds of textiles. All this underscores the need for a rapid rapprochement between the two countries and it is hoped that Indonesia can solve this particular dilemma soon.

Despite the fact that Indonesia's provisional Constitution guarantees religious liberty to all, it would seem that this freedom is beset by some conflicting policies of implementation which also have their effect on foreign relations. Late in April, 1954, the Papal Nuncio in Indonesia announced that since May, 1953, more than 160 missionaries had been waiting for entry visas into Indonesia; while only four of these were officially refused entry, the prolonged procrastination in extending entry permits to the others has come to be regarded in Church circles as a token of official disapproval. And this notwithstanding the fact that the Holy Father was one of the first sovereigns to recognise the Indonesian state and despite the fact that Indonesia herself sought official relations with the Vatican nine days after attaining her independence. The office of the Nuncio in Indonesia also pointed out that there was an acute shortage of priests for the more than 2 million Roman Catholics in Indonesia. On May 6, 1954, the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs replied, basing its pronouncement on a statement of policy made earlier by one of its officials and declared that the Government was of the opinion that new missions are not necessary in Indonesia at this time since the Indonesian people are in a position to take care of their own religious needs. In consequence, the statement went on to say, the Indonesian Government does not allow missionaries into the country whose religion does not have followers in Indonesia; this measure was applied in the case of a propagandist of the Bahai movement, who was refused entry. This aspect of Indonesia's foreign policy is not calculated to gain her many friends in western countries with influential missionary pressure groups, as for example the Netherlands and the United States. At the same time it must be conceded that religious tensions in Indonesia today probably require careful state supervision. Indonesia is nominally a Muslim country, powerful political groups are committed to the establishment of an Islamic

state in the young Republic, and the relationship between the small Christian minority and the Muslim majority is not always of the best. A case in point is the present situation in the Moluccas, in Eastern Indonesia, where a considerable number of Christians live side by side with even larger numbers of Muslims. On a recent speaking tour through the Moluccas, President Sukarno made much of the need of close harmony between Christians and Muslims in this area, even going so far as to ask public forgiveness for the wanton deeds of Muslim fanatics, and as a gesture of friendship the Indonesian Government transferred a large Church to the Christian community on the island of Amboyna. Hardly had the President departed, when the second vice-chairman of the Masjumi (Muslim) party, Kasman Singodimedjo, also speaking in the Moluccas, attacked some points in President Sukarno's speeches, and declared that while the Islamic religion had been revealed by God, the ideologies of the Partai Nasional Indonesia (Sukarno's party), the Communists, and the Christian religion had been invented by man. Instead of a secular state, with religion independent of politics, Kasman urged the establishment of a state permeated with Islamic principles. In a subsequent statement Mr. Kasman Singodimedjo declared that his address had been quoted out of context and that he had had no intention of giving offence to the Christian group. Yet his address was subsequently subjected to scrutiny by the Indonesian attorney-general's office, for possible grounds of criminal prosecution. President Sukarno also pointedly took issue with Kasman in a later speech. After Kasman's address incendiary pamphlets began to be circulated in the Moluccas, including within the large Christian Church in Amboyna, in which was urged the forcible conversion of Christians to the Islamic faith.

This incident, coupled with the misery suffered by the Christians at the hands of Muslim fanatics in Celebes, has led some Christian leaders to consider asking for international assistance, perhaps from the UN or from the International Council of Churches, but the present cabinet has resolutely opposed such intentions. The Government finds itself again in something of a dilemma in this connection. It cannot very well afford to create further unrest among the more orthodox Muslim elements by freely permitting non-Muslim proselytisers to come into the country, particularly in view of the great political importance of Indonesian Muslim parties. On the other hand it cannot in good conscience deny its own constitutional principles of religious freedom, let alone cause further antipathy in influential western nations with Christian power interests.

A final foreign policy quandary is the matter of Indonesian-Dutch relations. The present cabinet is committed to two objectives, both of which involve the Netherlands: (1) the dissolution of the present Netherlands-Indonesian Union and its replacement by a simple bilateral treaty and (2) acquisition by Indonesia of the territory of Western New Guinea (Irian) now held by the Dutch. The attainment of both of these objectives at the same time appears almost impossible. The Dutch have agreed to dissolve the Union, but not without certain economic concessions, which have caused resentment in Indonesia. As to the Irian issue, the Netherlands has made it abundantly clear that it refuses to discuss the status of this territory, and in this policy the present cabinet can count on the support of all parties except the Communists and some disgruntled Liberals. Indonesians are beginning to realise however, that the dissolution of the Union might make it even more difficult to get the Dutch to reconsider their stand on the Irian issue, and that with the end of the Union economic sanctions against the Dutch will become more difficult to implement. In the meantime the position of the Dutch in Indonesia is becoming more and more uneasy. A recent case in point was the refusal of the Indonesian Government to allow the Dutch community in the town of Bogor, West Java, to sing the Dutch national anthem on the Queen's birthday. This refusal appears to have had its origin, at least in part, in some administrative confusion in Indonesian circles, but it embittered Dutch-Indonesian relations and led to an official Dutch protest, one of many in the past few years involving the treatment of Hollanders and their interests in Indonesia.

Given the time and the patient understanding of her many friends Indonesia might yet be able to solve these many policy problems, but in this climate of a seemingly inevitable Armageddon, real solutions appear unfortunately to be virtually non-existent.

KASHMIR CORRESPONDENCE

By Our Diplomatic Correspondent

AFTER reading through the 103 pages of the correspondence on the Kashmir dispute between the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India which took place over the period June, 1953-September, 1954, (recently published in Delhi and Karachi), one is left with a feeling of annoyance at the futility of it. It is doubtful whether so much correspondence has ever passed between two people of such repute with as little result.

Both Premiers took the opportunity to say a lot of things that they thought ought to be said about the other's view of Kashmir, but the correspondence for the most part bristles with repetition, debating points and vagueness to the stage of being thoroughly irritating. The document does credit to neither Mr. Nehru nor to Mr. Mohammed Ali.

The Prime Ministers reached some measure of agreement on Kashmir during their Delhi meeting on August 17 last year. These letters show how through mistrust, and what looks sometimes like wilful misunderstanding on the part of Mr. Nehru, they piecemeal undid all they had achieved. Not only is the Kashmir question no nearer solution to-day, it is entangled in complications that make it appear almost insoluble.

The chief cause of worry to the Prime Ministers was the creation of an atmosphere of goodwill in their respective countries. Perhaps a good half of the correspondence is devoted to criticisms of the Press, and accusations fly backwards and forwards. Mr. Nehru, in this respect, devotes a lot of space

to expressions of outraged surprise at his counterpart's suggestions that the Indian Press and statesmen were making inflammatory statements about Kashmir. Mr. Mohammed Ali is very smart—a little too smart—in his accusations against alleged heightening of tension in India, but the repetition of them and of the answers from the Indian leader become tedious.

Throughout, it is obvious that Mr. Mohammed Ali is conscious of Pakistan's weakness in the face of a strong Indian army in Kashmir, and therefore his attitude is slightly more accommodating than Mr. Nehru's. The Indian P.M. on the other hand reveals a slight hidden agitation that the situation should be settled, but is worried that Pakistan may try to enlist the support of the big powers for her case; and even before the issue of American military aid to Pakistan cropped up he was suspicious enough to be a little intransigent.

It was Pakistan's acceptance of military aid which finally led to the breakdown and stalemate. Mr. Nehru quite rightly could not accept Pakistan's assurance that the threat to her security, for which reason she accepted arms from the United States, was not from India. The latter part of the correspondence deals primarily with this issue, and Mr. Nehru does nothing to conceal his contempt for Pakistan at getting herself entangled with the western bloc.

Both Prime Ministers reiterate in their letters that as leaders of two powerful nations it is their duty to try and settle disagreements amicably. It is tragic that when these two great statesmen were so near to reaching accord, they should have set off on this prevaricating correspondence which seems to have achieved the opposite effect to what they, in all sincerity, originally intended.



"TAKE A LETTER..."

HEALTH PROBLEMS OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

By James S. McKenzie Pollock

THE countries of South-East Asia are passing through a phase at the moment of what might be described as accelerated evolution. This is certainly true in the field of public health. A realisation of prevailing health conditions is present and a burning desire for improvement exists. The problem of how to proceed is a formidable one requiring the utmost care in utilising the limited resources available. A study of the story of public-health development in the past hundred years demonstrates what can be done to free people from the fetters of preventable disease.

The great awakening in the West to the need for public hygiene, which began about 1850 and achieved such astounding results, was based in the very beginning on recognition of the fundamental problem—the relation between disease and poverty. It was clear to the early pioneers that poverty and disease formed a vicious circle. Men and women were sick because they were poor; they became poorer because they were sick, and the sicker because they were poorer.

We now know that the converse of that is also true and that the spiral can be made to ascend instead of descend. The aim of the World Health Organisation and other agencies in the field of health is to help the less developed countries start off that upward spiral of health. By helping a community to rid itself of the easily preventable diseases, that community becomes more productive and therefore more able to mobilise its resources for the march towards better health.

In the countries of South-East Asia to-day the health administrators are faced with another problem which did not exist to such a large extent in the West. Over 85 per cent. of the 500 million people in South-East Asia live in widely scattered rural communities. It is a comparatively easy task to supply safe water supplies and sewerage services to organised urban communities, but the task of supplying similar services to the inhabitants of rural districts is a formidable one, particularly as rural dwellers in all parts of the world are noted for their conservatism.

Five years ago when the World Health Organisation started giving active help to the countries of South-East Asia its efforts were mainly directed towards helping governments to bring under control those communicable diseases which could most easily be tackled. The two outstanding examples in this category are malaria and yaws. In Afghanistan, India, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand and Indonesia, malaria demonstration and training projects were started which acted as important stimuli for the development of national malaria programmes and which

in the next few years should bring malaria off its pinnacle as public-health enemy No. 1 in South-East Asia.

Help to governments has now developed on a broader basis than only mass communicable disease control. Diseases can only be kept under if a sufficient public-health service is established, not only at the centre, but also at the periphery. Such services require personnel specially trained in preventive medicine, and towards this end fellowships are useful. Fellowships alone, however, are not sufficient as, in most instances, the training is taken in countries dealing with an altogether different environmental situation. The need for establishing and improving training centres within the countries of South-East Asia must be the future trend.

It will be therefore worth while at this point to consider some of the health problems of those countries whose interests are the responsibility of the Regional Office of WHO for South-East Asia.

Afghanistan

Afghanistan is a land-locked country about the size of France, bounded by Russia in the North, on the South and South-West by Iran and on the South and South-East by Pakistan. The Hindu Kush range of mountains runs from North-West to South-East. The valleys and the northern plains are fertile.

Kabul, the capital, has 200,000 inhabitants. The population of the country is mainly tribal and has been variously estimated between 8-12 million. There has never been a census. Many of the tribes are semi-nomadic. The houses are mainly of mud construction. There are no railways, and roads are of poor quality. The donkey, probably the finest in the world, is the main means of transportation.

A strict purdah system is observed. The people are proud and reserved but most courteous and friendly. The religion is Muslim. The nutritional standard among the poor in towns is low but many of the farmers in the fertile regions live well.

There are 1,525 hospital beds in the country; more than half of these are in Kabul. Most provincial hospitals are poor in quality. There is a Chief Medical Officer for each of the 11 provinces.

Medical education is undertaken at the Kabul University. The country has at present about 180 doctors (including 47 assistant doctors); more than half of these are in Kabul. The output of doctors has been 8-15 per year, but efforts have been made to step this up and the number of students entering the medical faculty this year is 80. Students are fed, boarded and given pocket money while under training, and in return the government has a lien on their services for 10 years after they qualify.

Mr. James S. McKenzie Pollock, T.D., M.B., Ch.B., D.P.H., S.M., is the Public Health Administrator of the Regional Office of the World Health Organisation for South-East Asia.

Medicine as a career is not popular. A government doctor's salary is in the region of \$15 a month. He has to live on private practice.

Little reliable vital statistical material is available. Public health administration is not developed and is not supported by public health legislation.

With that as a background it becomes obvious that the great need of the country is to strengthen the public-health administration and help in the training of medical and para-medical personnel. WHO has supplied a public-health adviser and sanitary engineer to the Government of Afghanistan, and three professors to the Medical School. With substantial help from UNICEF, nurses and midwives training schools and a MCH Training Centre have been set up. A public-health laboratory has also been established. A WHO sponsored malaria programme has now expanded to be a national effort. WHO has helped the government recently to establish a tuberculosis demonstration and training centre. A programme is under way to aid the government in provincial health expansion. There are at the moment 23 WHO international staff stationed in Afghanistan. This is a large number of staff for the size of the country, but considering the need, it is not out of proportion. The stage has been reached however in Afghanistan of consolidating in the fields of activity at present being undertaken. To undertake new activities at the moment would be beyond the resources of the country.

Burma

Burma is a fairly large country covering an area of 262,000 square miles and has an estimated population of 18 million (the last census was 1941). The population density is thus 68.7 per square mile. This is not high and there is room for considerable increase in population. Burma produces a surplus of high quality rice. The export of this rice surplus in the post-war years has provided the government with the means of spending large sums of money on social welfare of which health is an important aspect.

A seven-year plan for economic and industrial development has been launched with the avowed aim of increasing the per capita income by 60 per cent.

Burma was devastated during the second world war, having been fought over twice. She has tackled her rehabilitation with a spirit of enthusiasm. In health planning Burma has put much trust in the services offered by the World Health Organisation. Insurgent activities at the moment are impeding the efforts of the administration but there are indications that sound government is prevailing.

Under present conditions reliable statistical data are difficult to collect; however, the following figures for municipal towns in 1950 give an indication:

Crude birth rate	40.03 per thousand
Crude death rate	45.50 per thousand
Infant mortality	292.52 per thousand live births
Maternal mortality	8.21
Still birth	53.04 per thousand live births

The general death rate for Burma ranges from 39.5 per cent. in urban to 24.46 per cent. in rural areas.

Literacy is 56 per cent. in males and 17 per cent. in females. Sixty-six per cent. of the population are employed in agriculture.

There are 1,200 doctors or 1 : 15,000 of the population. Of these, 634 are in the government service. Three hundred and twenty-five of the doctors are located in Rangoon.

As in most other countries in South-East Asia, the great need in Burma is for trained personnel, and this subject is receiving a high priority place in WHO's assistance to the country. The following figures give an indication of what is being done by the government with some help from WHO:

	Registered to date	In training
Nurses	1,363	299
Midwives	2,099	441
Lady Health Visitors ..	207	60
Public Health nurses ..	9	14
Litthés (local midwives)	81	96
Health assistants ..	123	300
Compounders	—	140

Fifty-six rural health centres had been developed by the government by the beginning of this year and an additional 62 were opened during the first half of 1954. These centres are mainly staffed by Health Assistants, trained after a 1½ year course in preventive and elementary curative medicine, aided by midwives, lady health visitors and vaccinators.

Forty-five hospitals and dispensaries which had remained closed since 1945 were reopened during 1953 thus bringing the total number of functioning hospitals and dispensaries to 365.

There are 8,000 hospital beds in the country with about 400 hospital nurses to attend to them: i.e., one nurse for 22 beds.

In 1954/55 86 new hospitals are planned.

In 1953 under the Government Environmental Sanitation Programme 61 tube wells were constructed and 3,942 squatting plates for latrines were issued free of charge in Insein and Pegu demonstration districts.

The health needs in Burma can be summed up as follows:

- (1) strengthening of the central and district health organisation;
- (2) strengthening of the training facilities for doctors, nurses, health assistants and other para-medical and auxiliary personnel;
- (3) greater emphasis on environmental sanitation, health education and vital and health statistics;
- (4) control of communicable disease remains an important need and probably will for many years.

Burma will have the services of 34 WHO international personnel during 1954.

Burma has great possibilities; the country is rich, there is no over-population, basic literacy is rapidly expanding (education is free even at university level) and some dynamic powers are at work in the country.

AUSTRALIA AND INDO-CHINA

By Alan Barcan (Newcastle, Australia)

THE pronounced silence of the Commonwealth Government during the crisis of French rule in Indo-China was an accurate reflection of contradictions afflicting Australian policy towards that country.

Economically, Australian interests in Indo-China are negligible. In terms of foreign policy Australia was caught by the conflict between British and American views on Indo-China. In terms of internal party politics all major political parties had good reason to evade committing themselves over Indo-China, for all parties could anticipate some internal discord over the issue.

Again, the Indo-China crisis coincided with Federal elections for the House of Representatives, and the Government refused to undertake any major decision in foreign policy until after the poll had decided the new Government. Nonetheless, it is still remarkable that during the election campaign the major parties found it wise to completely omit foreign policy from the public debate.

Finally, it must also be stressed that Australian public opinion was as lethargic over Indo-China as over most significant issues which have arisen in the last seven years.

Thus, in the case of Indo-China, silence seemed by far the best substitute for a positive policy.

The exclusive nature of French policy in Indo-China has prevented the growth of any significant Australian economic interests in that country. Both before and after World War II, trade with Indo-China hardly existed, and the country rated about second-last in Australian trade relations with the countries of the East. Little or no Australian capital was invested in the country.

In the years 1943-47 Australia endeavoured to play an independent part in world affairs, relying on growing national feeling and economic strength in Australia, on the Atlantic Charter, and on the United Nations Organisation. As far as Indo-China came within Australia's horizon at all, the Australian attitude was to encourage the French to grant self-government, just as it was hoped the Dutch would do in Indonesia (Evatt in the House of Representatives, March, 1946).

After the outbreak of the "cold war," however, and particularly after the Chinese Revolution of 1948-49 Australia found it impossible to maintain her role of spokesman of the "Second Class Powers." Australian foreign policy had once again to become suitably circumspect for a nation of 7,000,000, showing due respect for British and American attitudes.

The revival of Communism in the East and in South-East Asia after 1947 aroused fears of a military threat to Australia and necessitated closer adherence to Britain and especially to the United States.

When, in February, 1950, France at length attempted to establish nationalist Governments in Viet Nam, Laos, and Cambodia, Australia forthwith granted recognition, on the grounds that "prompt recognition of the three new States by Australia and other powers should encourage moderate nationalist leaders." (Spender, Minister for External Affairs).

The Colombo Plan of 1950, which was to a considerable

degree an Australian idea, was another attempt to meet the new situation, and officially included Indo-China in its ambit, though little was done to assist this country.

When R. G. Casey replaced Spender as Australian Minister for External Affairs, he immediately undertook a five weeks' tour of Indonesia, Malaya, Indo-China, Siam, the Philippines, and other East Asian lands (July-August, 1951), something quite unusual in the short history of Australian diplomacy. "Australia must pay greater attention to developments in areas to the north of Malaya on which the security of Malaya may well substantially depend," the Minister reported to Parliament.

Accordingly, in January, 1952, Australia announced that diplomatic representatives would be established at Saigon, accredited to Viet Nam, Laos, and Cambodia. Up till this time Australia was without representatives in Indo-China.

Another product of this greater attention to countries "north of Malaya" was the visit in March, 1953, of the French Minister in charge of relations with the Associated States of Indo-China (M. Jean Letourneau), who came to Australia as the guest of the Commonwealth Government. The Australian Government promised assistance to Indo-China in terms of military and economic equipment. A French technical mission reached Australia in May to select military equipment.

The Australian waterside workers, for long under Communist influence, have traditionally displayed an interest in Far Eastern policy. In 1937 they held up the "Dalfram," carrying pig-iron to Japan. In 1945-47 they placed a ban on Dutch shipping, to help the Indonesians. But in 1954, Australian radicalism having now declined, the most they could do was to delay for a short period the "Radnor," carrying supplies to Indo-China; and this on grounds of lack of amenities for watersiders working on the ship, not on political grounds.

Australia's concern with Indo-China has, then, revolved mainly around the question of military strategy and the growing strength of Communism in S.E. Asia. Australia's policy towards Indo-China derives ultimately from the undefended, sparsely populated nature of North and North-West Australia.

This geo-political fact means that, with the re-emergence of Great Powers in the Far East (China, Japan), Australia must look to Britain and, above all, to America for military support. Behind Australia's policy towards Indo-China lies a particular sensitivity to the point of view of the United States. American interest in newly-discovered oilfields in the N.W. of West Australia (financial and strategic interest) and in uranium mines in the Northern Territory means that this exposed region of Australian territory is becoming a still greater link between Australia and the United States.

In all these developments, Australia has been slow to take the initiative. Australian nationalism has always been unsure of itself, and it still is. Outside interests and outside policies determine Australian foreign policy to a considerable degree. Each crisis in the East has pushed Australia into new experiments in foreign policy. Japan in 1941 stimulated the first turn to America. China in 1949 stimulated the second. The rearmament of Japan pushed Australia into the ANZUS Pact. And now Indo-China seems likely to lead Australia into a SEATO.

The author is Lecturer in History at Newcastle Teachers' College, N.S.W., Australia.

Letters to the Editor

INDONESIAN-DUTCH RELATIONS

SIR,—Having read with much interest Mr. Brown's article on "Indonesian-Dutch Relations Since 1950" in the September issue of *EASTERN WORLD*, I hope I may be permitted to point out two blemishes. The date with which the article opens should be "December, 1949," and not December, 1950, as printed; similarly on the same page the date of Westerling's abortive coup d'état at Bandung should be "January, 1950," and not January, 1951, as printed.

Yours, etc.,

Embassy of India,
Kabul, Afghanistan.

BHAGWAT DAYAL,
Ambassador of India.

WHAT CHINA THINKS

SIR,—In a letter under this heading, published by the *Daily Telegraph* on July 20 last, Dr. W. G. Goddard scoffed at Mr. Attlee's suggestion that the Peking Government has the approval of the Chinese people. He remarked that "to anybody who knows China nothing could be farther from the truth." Dr. Goddard claims to be an authority on "What China Thinks," by reason of his long residence in that country.

Having spent thirty-three years in India and Africa, I know by experience that European residents in Eastern and African countries are often mistaken in their notions as to what Asians and Africans really think. Regarding China, Dr. Goddard's ideas are diametrically opposed to those of several nonconformist missionaries and welfare workers who had better opportunities for studying the mentality of the Chinese masses.

For instance, a Baptist minister, who had been a missionary in China for 26 years, created a sensation in Worthing by an address in which he described the good as well as the bad features of the new regime. "The Communists," he said, "changed 2,000 years of corrupt system in one year. They cleaned up the moral life of the cities—the great treaty ports, controlled by white people for over 100 years, which were, to our shame, dens of vices." He did not condone the cruelties committed in this process; but he clearly implied that the old regime was thoroughly corrupt.

A similar comparison between the venality of the old regime and the improvements made by the new "People's Government," can be found in the book called *Through the Chinese Revolution*, by Ralph and Nancy Lapwood. These two medical missionaries described their adventures in many parts of China during the struggle between the forces of Chiang Kai-shek and those of Mao Tse-tung.

They attribute the success of the "People's Government" to the new system of recruiting *kanpu*, or civil servants, taught by Mao Tse-tung to share hardships with the peasants—imbued with fiery patriotism, and carrying out their jobs "with exacting standards of hard work and honesty."

Even that well-known professional soldier, Lieut-General Sir Giffard Martel has expressed the opinion that "the present Communist Government in China is better than any of the corrupt governments that they have had for a long time." (See *East versus West*, published by the Museum Press.)

It is scarcely conceivable that the unpopular regime, which fled to Formosa in 1949, has changed its spots. There appears to be some kind of censorship on the island, which prevents the publication of unfavourable reports in our more popular newspapers. But some

interesting disclosures were made by Sir John Pratt, in the October issue of the *EASTERN WORLD*, quoting an article by Adlai Stevenson which was published in the American magazine *Look* on May 19, 1953, and a report by Mr. Justice Wm. O. Douglas. The leader of the Democratic Party mentioned some "alarming problems," including "palace intrigues and secret police"; while Mr. Douglas went so far as to report that "Formosa is a police state with repressive tentacles reaching through civilian life and the army."

Having regard to reports from people who cannot be suspected of bias in favour of Communism, it is absurd to suppose that the six hundred million Chinese on the mainland will rebel against Mao Tse-tung's regime and embrace the discredited Kuomintang again.

Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's earlier efforts to reform China were commendable. But now we should face the facts, and one of the facts is that the leader of the Kuomintang has failed to promote honesty and disinterested service among his followers. It would be a wise act of statesmanship to induce him to come to terms with the Peking Government, and thus avoid further bloodshed among the Chinese people.

Yours, etc.,

Sompting, Sussex.

C. E. COOKSON.

AMERICAN "IMPERIALISM"

SIR,—After reading the impassioned outburst from your correspondent, Mr. Preston L. Peach, which you printed under the title, "A Protest from America," in your October issue, I felt impelled to re-read the July editorial of which your correspondent complains.

When your correspondent's complaint is extricated from the rodomontade it appears that the USA is charged with "imperialism," and that not only is the charge monstrously untrue but is playing into the hands of the Communists the world over. I find that in your editorial you point out that it is a fact that "among the people of Asia the United States is being counted among the greatest imperialistic nations in the history of the world." Your correspondent suggests that if US policy not merely towards the East, but, one gathers, Britain as well (grants in World War I, and lease-lend in World War II having been raked up) is imperialistic then the word needs a new definition.

I would suggest, Sir, that for quite some time now the word *has* acquired a new definition. Ever since, in fact, India acquired independence and the sun at long last set upon the British Empire. According to the Oxford Dictionary "imperialism" is "extension of British Empire for protection of trade, union of its parts for defence, internal commerce, etc., belief in value of colonies, etc." In the light of this definition it was always the wrong word to apply to French and Dutch colonialism, but the word was accepted into general usage for colonialism and was understood. The word is used less now in its old sense because what it stood for is on the way out. It obviously cannot apply to the USA in the old sense, but there is a new application of the word in the sense of would-be world domination. No one imagines that the USA is setting out to build up a territorial empire, but to millions of Asiatics, and to a great many Westerners, the USA has the appearance of seeking—with its bases everywhere, and the great weight of its dollar-aid—to dominate the world. *It is the new imperialism—and the greatest danger to world-peace in our midst.* Or does Mr. Preston L. Peach really believe that American backing of the Chinese Nationalists (in Burma as well as in Formosa) as part of the American Communist-phobia, contributes to world peace? Perhaps, being American, and obviously himself suffering from the national neurosis, he really does; but to the people of India, China, Burma, it looks uncommonly like a bid for the old white domination in a new dress—the new-look in imperialism, in fact, and no more acceptable to the resurgent East than the old, out-moded style.

It is noted that Mr. Preston L. Peach has been an "Educational Missionary" in South-East Asia for some 35 years. I am not quite clear what an educational missionary is, but it is perhaps time that some of the ancient civilisations of the East sent Buddhist, Moslem, Hindu missionaries to the West to educate the Americans?

Yours, etc.,

Clifdon,

Co. Galway, Eire.

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LONDON NOTEBOOK

Indonesian Reception

One of the most cheerful social functions last month was the reception held at the Indonesian Embassy in honour of the Indonesian Armed Forces' Day. The Military Attache and Mme. Dahlan Djambek received the guests, and the Ambassador and Mme. Supomo were able to circulate freely among the large gathering of British guests and representatives from the Diplomatic Corps who attended.

Chinese Language

Problems of language reform in China was the subject dealt with at a meeting held by the Universities' China Committee. Professor Y. R. Chao, who is now professor of Chinese Linguistics at the University of California, suggested that Chinese had characteristics more closely similar to those found in English than in any other language and that Chinese was at present experiencing changes which could be likened to those undergone by English in the 15th and 16th centuries. He traced the influences at work and the efforts to bring about Romanisation, but declared his conviction that Chinese

characters would never be dropped from the Chinese written language.

Japanese Puppet Theatre

The Japan Society heard a lecture by Mr. C. J. Dunn, lecturer at the School of Oriental and African Studies, on the decline of the Japanese puppet theatre. He showed slides of puppet theatres in action in Japan and demonstrated how puppets were manipulated, but went on to say that puppet theatres were nowadays encountered only in the rural areas of Japan. He maintained that the puppet theatres were the parents of the "Kabuki" plays and that it was a grave cultural loss to the country that the older form no longer roused the interest of the younger generation. He gave it as his view that a position was rapidly being reached where only government subsidies would serve to keep the medium alive.

Handicrafts from India

Indian and Pakistani skills in cottage industries were prominently displayed at the second International Handicrafts, Home-crafts and Hobbies Exhibition held at Olympia. Benares scarves, Jaipur prints,

Pakistani lamp shades made from camel-skin, and ivory work and jewellery from Lahore were among the samples which attracted wide attention from the British public.

New Malaya Commissioner



Malaya's new Commissioner in Britain, Inche Othman bin Mohamed, former Prime Minister of Selangor State, arrived in London last month with his family

CHINESE FILMS

Cinema audiences in the West may be put off, perhaps, by the idea of a young co-operative worker making love to a sturdy peasant girl between their "efforts" to "raise productivity" in a farm. But as "peaceful co-existence" should be a desirable thing in the cinema world also, it is well

that they become used to the new settings and conventions of films from Communist countries. Once so adjusted, they may be able to enjoy many of them.

When the Grapes Are Ripe, a Chinese film shown at the Scala Theatre by the Britain-China Friendship Association on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of New China, tells the story of a patriotic grape grower, Aunt Chou, who has a bumper

harvest to dispose of. The village Fair is still far off and she wants money urgently to pay her workers and for a dowry for her daughter, Hung-o, engaged to Shuang-hsi, the son of the director of the Cooperative. The Cooperative director is, misguidedly, only concerned with his routine duties and does not want to take the risk of buying the grapes. An unscrupulous merchant offers to buy them, but his offer is far below the price she expects, and he is soon exposed by a Party member, Comrade Kung. Kung discusses the problem with the Secretary of the Village Party Branch who resolves to make the director of the Cooperative understand his responsibilities. He explains that if the masses could not sell their products they would not have the desire to raise productivity and it would adversely affect the standard of living of the community. He offers money to the Cooperative to buy the grapes. The director soon makes a "self-criticism" of his lack of consideration for the welfare of the masses. After holding discussions with private merchants he fixes a fair price for the grapes. Aunt Chou is thus able to sell her grapes and when the Fair is opened she has money to buy all her necessities. Everyone in the village is happy.

The "Party line" and the propaganda element are obvious in the film, but the lively and light manner in which the story is told makes the propaganda seem less blatant than in many other Communist films I have seen. The film has pace and the performances are full of verve. Photography is sensitive. Altogether it is a credit for an industry which hardly existed in China five years ago.

A. M. ABRAHAM.



From "When the Grapes are Ripe", produced by the NE Film Studio of the Chinese People's Republic. Aunt Chou (left) a grape grower—played by Ouyang Ju-chiu—tries to persuade Ting Lao-kuei, manager of the local Cooperative—played by Tu Te-fu—to buy her grape crop

FROM ALL QUARTERS

Fijian Policeman Decorated

The award by the Queen of the Colonial Police Medal for Gallantry to Sergeant Puran Jorawar, aged 30, of the Fiji Police Force, was announced in the *London Gazette* of September 24. Sergeant Jorawar rescued passengers from the burning wreck of an aircraft in which he was travelling, and which crashed into a rice field shortly after taking off from an airfield in Fiji. "That all the passengers were successfully evacuated from the burning wreck is due almost wholly to the courage and complete disregard for personal safety of Sergeant Jorawar," states the citation. "He was the last person to leave the burning wreck and about 45 seconds after he left the petrol tanks exploded." Sergeant Jorawar is the first Indian member of the Fiji Police to be awarded the Colonial Police Medal.

Geneva-Bombay by Conducted Car Tour

Motorists who could afford the time and money were invited to take part in a 55-day conducted tour, starting on October 29, from Geneva to Bombay. The tour, which is organised by the Alliance Internationale de Tourisme (A.I.T.) is routed by way of Zagreb and Belgrade to Istanbul and Ankara, thence through Beyrout, Amman, Baghdad, Tehran, Isfahan, Kerman, Quetta, Lahore and Delhi to Bombay. Those taking part were advised that they should be capable of enduring any possible hardships. For example, although rooms will be reserved in good hotels in the main towns, in the country districts accommodation is less easy to find, and it may be necessary to use a tent or sleeping bag. The cost to each participant was announced as about £563, which included registration fees, purchase of petrol over the 7,398 miles of journey, overhauls and upkeep of car, board and lodging, air return ticket from Bombay to Geneva, and the shipping back of the car from India to Genoa.

Education Centre in Korea

Mr. Howard Hayden, a British educational expert, has been sent by Unesco to Korea, where he is to be Director of a Fundamental Education Training and Research Centre. This Centre is a joint enterprise to be started by the United Nations Korean Relief Administration and Unesco. Its object will be to train teachers in fundamental education techniques, which would be applied in the educational campaigns in Korea.

Mr. Hayden has a very wide knowledge of educational problems in the Pacific, as well as British colonial territories. For the last year he was Director of Education, Trinidad, and from 1946 to 1953 he held the same position at Fiji, where he was also educational adviser to the Higher Command of the South Pacific. In 1951 he was chairman of the South Pacific Research Council, a body concerned with medical, social and agricultural development. He joined the British Colonial Service in 1943, and was until 1946 Director of Education at Barbados. From 1937 to 1943, Mr. Hayden was inspector of schools with the London County Council.

"The Amlaki Fruit of the West"

"The scientific method," said Mr. Waldemar Kaempffert, winner of the 1954 Unesco-awarded Kalinga Prize, "is the amlaki fruit of the West." He was referring to the legend in which Asoka, the famous Emperor who established the Empire of Kalinga which covered part of India and Indonesia more than 2,000 years ago, gave half of his amlaki fruit—his only sustenance at the time—to a penniless begging monk. Mr. Kaempffert, who is science editor of the *New York Times*, delivered an address at a ceremony in Paris after receiving the Prize from the Director-General of Unesco. In it he stressed the fundamental difference between the essence of science, which is the spirit of giving, and the essence of ethics, which is renunciation and denial. "In science and the scientific method the West has given the East something that is only a few centuries old. In giving the world ethics, India gives the world something older than Asoka, something that is changeless." He pinned his faith on the civilised blending of these two opposites.

Tibetan Visitors to Peking

The Dalai Lama of Tibet, and the Panchen Lama arrived in Peking during September to attend the National People's Congress. The Dalai Lama, whose decision to leave his country on this visit was not universally approved by his faithful followers at home, travelled



to Peking with an impressive entourage, including his mother and sister, two canon-teachers, and high-ranking Tibetan Government officials. They made the journey under escort of Chinese Communist General Chang Chiang-wu.

Mao's Heir-Apparent

It was announced from Peking on September 27 that the National People's Congress has elected General Chu Teh, the Commander in Chief of the Chinese Army, to be vice-chairman of the Central People's Government Council, who "succeeds to the office of Chairman, should the office fall vacant." Mao Tse-tung was re-elected chairman, and General Chu Teh is therefore automatically appointed his successor.

General Chu Teh appears on the extreme left of the photograph on this page, where he is seen greeting the two visiting Lamas from Tibet.

Recording of Sinkiang Folk Songs

It is reported from China that some 200 folk songs and pieces of folk music from Sinkiang Province have recently been recorded, and will soon be on sale by the People's Gramophone Record Factory in Shanghai. The items include outstanding pieces popular amongst the Ughur, Kazakh, Uzbek, Khalkhas and other national minorities. Some are traditional folk songs handed down through the centuries, some is folk music special to certain nationalities, and some are songs newly composed since liberation. Famous folk singers and musicians, as well as seven professional song and dance ensembles, took part in the recording.

China's First Home-Built Aircraft

Peking Radio announced on September 29 that China had tested her first home-made aircraft, and that "they fly." "An enthusiastic celebration" had marked the first trial flight, which had been made on July 26. The broadcast added: "This marks the successful beginning of China's aircraft manufacturing industry." China has to date relied largely on the supply of Russian aircraft for her Service and domestic requirements.



[Photopress, Zurich]

Charlie Chaplin with Indian film producers and actors who visited him at his home in Geneva, Switzerland, last month

New Zealand Scholarships for South Sea Islanders

This year six students from islands in the Pacific enrolled at a New Zealand University, two for courses of law, the others to study engineering, commerce, agriculture, and the arts. Eight more were already students at teachers' training colleges, while two others were studying as assistant teachers. Every year since 1945, some 15 young South Sea Islanders have won scholarships from their homes in the Pacific to study at New Zealand Colleges. Aged between 12 and 14

years, they come from Niue, Western Samoa, Rarotonga and other nearby islands. Scholarships under this experimental scheme, which is proving of great value to the expanding educational facilities in the islands, enable young islanders to continue their studies on a higher level and become doctors, nurses, engineers or teachers. By 1954, a total of 141 island students had been trained in New Zealand under the plan. (Unesco).

First H-Bomb Victim

Aikichi Kubiya, the radio-operator of the luckless "Lucky Dragon," the Japanese tuna-fishing boat caught in the radio-active "rain" of ashes resulting from the explosion of the first hydrogen bomb by the US on March 1 at Bikini Atoll, died on September 23. Sixteen of the Japanese crew of this fishing boat, which was 80 miles away at the time of the explosion, have been in hospital in Tokyo since this unfortunate occurrence, which has directed so much indignation against America in Japan. The Japanese reply to the US apology and offer of \$1 million damages was a claim to at least \$12 million.

Kubiya leaves a wife and nine-year-old daughter.

Western Irian

By a vote of 7 to 3 in the UN General Assembly Steering Committee in September it was decided that Indonesia's claim to Western Irian (West New Guinea) should go before the UN General Assembly for consideration. This western portion of the island has been a bone of contention ever since the formation of the Republic of Indonesia in 1949, when it was agreed at The Hague Conference that the territory should be provisionally under the control of the Netherlands on the condition that within one year from the transfer of sovereignty its political status should be determined by further negotiation. Since no agreement has been reached, Indonesia is now pressing her claim once more, this time more forcibly, and with the implied threat that the "dangerous and explosive" situation caused by the delay might call for settlement by other than peaceful measures.

Typhoon in Hokkaido

A typhoon which ravaged Hokkaido, the northernmost island of Japan, during the week-end of September 26, caused a death toll of over 1,600. 1,170 of these were passengers on board the ocean ferry *Toya Maru*, which was swept on to the rocks in Hakodate harbour and overturned during the captain's attempt to beach in the emergency. Four other ferries, which put out in Hakodate harbour to prevent being dashed against piers, were lost. Some 30 of their crews, totalling about 290 persons, were rescued. According to coastguards' reports, 876 ships of all sizes were sunk—the highest total in Japanese maritime history—3,467 ships damaged, 130 grounded and 154 were adrift.

Hakodate was left without light or power, and communications and power lines throughout the island were wrecked. Two-thirds of the town of Iwanai, 90 miles to the north of Hakodate, was destroyed by fire which razed 3,000 houses within a few minutes.

The British Ambassador in Tokyo conveyed to the Japanese Government the deepest sympathy of the British Government for the loss of life in this tragic disaster. Sir Winston Churchill sent a message of sympathy to Mr. Yoshida, the Prime Minister.

Indian Railway Disaster

More than 80 people were killed, and some 120 injured when a train carrying 320 sleeping passengers plunged into the spate-swollen River Aler between Secunderabad and Kazipet in Hyderabad. The accident was caused by the collapse of a girder of the bridge, which had been weakened by the recent floods. All seven carriages of the train fell to the river bed, where they were smashed, capsized or swept away by the torrent. Mr. B. Ramakrishna Rao, Chief Minister of the State of Hyderabad, visited the scene of the tragedy. Amongst those who lost their lives were 27 Indian Army men, eight railway employees and two senior officials of the Hyderabad Government.

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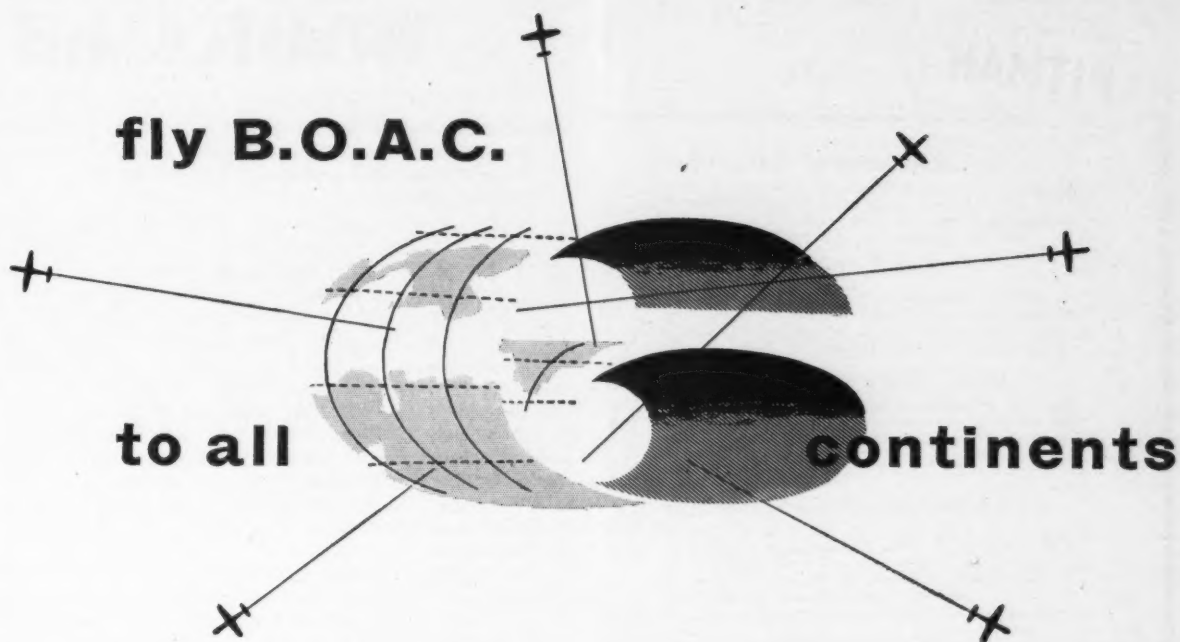
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BOOKS on the

America, Britain and Russia, Their Cooperation and Conflict, 1941-1946 by WILLIAM HARDY McNEILL (*Oxford University Press*; under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 63s.).

This book maintains the high standard of scholarship and research of the series of Chatham House surveys on international affairs of which it is one. Although there are deficiencies which throw it a little out of balance, it is extremely important to any study of recent history. Professor McNeill, a notable historian from the University of Chicago, has drawn entirely upon published material in writing of the Grand Alliance, which means that he had access to no Russian source material, since they have published none. His evaluation of the Russian part in the alliance however is extremely well balanced in the circumstances, but of course without inside information from the Soviet side it is inevitable that what emerges most clearly from the book is the alliance of Britain and the United States which formed the foundation of post-war cooperation between the two countries.

In weighing the differences of approach of the British and the Americans to various problems as they arose during the course of the war, the author is very fair, and he reaches the conclusion that with the Americans (mainly President Roosevelt) military considerations were paramount, whereas the British (mainly Winston Churchill) looked to the long-term political implications.

One of the most fateful decisions taken by President Roosevelt during the whole war was to give the fighting in Europe precedence over that in the Far East. When the British made it clear to the Americans that a second front against Europe was impracticable in 1942, Roosevelt might easily have bridled at the "outright refusal to consider offensive operations," and have used the weight of US resources against the Japanese—an eventuality which troubled the British Prime Minister. In fact, Roosevelt said that if the Allies could not strike across the English Channel in 1942 "then we must take the second best—and that is *not the Pacific*" (my italics). This decision so affected US relations with China that much of the later intransigent behaviour of Chiang Kai-shek and his government might be attributed to it.

The whole book is bristling with incidents, the legacy of which has confused and complicated world politics in the post-war decade. It was wise to have the story of the Alliance written by one man, especially one as competent as Professor McNeill. The book has a good index, but of the three world maps at the end, two are completely useless.

J. W. T. COOPER

The Transfer of Power in India by E. W. R. LUMBY (*Allen and Unwin*, 18s.).

Mr. Lumby's introduction is inauspicious. He refers to the Congress and Muslim League claim "to represent the Hindu and Muslim masses," a vague enough statement but one which must inevitably put the reader on his guard. Fortunately, however, this curious slip has no bearing on the chapters that follow which are admirably set out and very adequately written.

Basing his research entirely on official documents of all the parties concerned together with contemporary newspaper files, Mr. Lumby has traced the course of events in the Indian sub-

FAR EAST

continent from 1945 to 1948 which culminated in the transfer of power (in August, 1947) from British hands to those of the successor governments of the Indian Union and of Pakistan. The various stages of the preliminary negotiations, from the Simla Conference, through the Cabinet Mission's visit and the Interim Government's trials to the final acceleration of events under the leadership of Lord Mountbatten are condensed expertly and impartially into 265 pages. The resulting work will surely remain a dependable guide book to this remarkable historical landmark in Imperial history until more evidence is made available.

Mr. Lumby only rarely allows himself the luxury of comparative praise or blame. He rightly applauds Wavell's patient, unselfish work as the convener and leading inspiration of the Simla Conference which, while it failed nominally, did, in fact, provide the necessary prologue to the Cabinet Mission's negotiations and, later, to Mountbatten's high pressure tactics in the final stages. Indeed, Wavell's record as Viceroy does not seem to have been properly appreciated, and one of the unexplained lapses of the then Labour Government's record was Attlee's shabby treatment of Wavell and his refusal to make known the real reasons for the latter's dismissal. The conjecture that the ex-Viceroy had not been prepared to accept the partition solution so readily as the British Government (which is understandable in the light of the official communiques relevant to Simla. It may with justification be further assumed that, in private conversations, Wavell found even more reason to hold his views) has never been denied.

As between Congress and the Muslim League Mr. Lumby walks like the daring young man on the flying trapeze. Indeed we begin to suspect him of using a secret mathematical formula in distributing his comments for and against the reactions of the two organisations into the same numbers of sentences, words and syllables. But on page 233 a shock awaits us; for there Mr. Lumby refers to "Jinnah and his henchmen," a phrase so out of tone with the terms of respect otherwise to be found in the book that this reader for one still cannot believe his own eyes.

Mr. Lumby's conclusion that partition was inevitable may perhaps sound like wisdom after the event. There is no space to discuss it in a book review. Yet, as already mentioned, there were times during these crucial three years when the possibility of an arrangement on the lines of Professor Coupland's (to whom Mr. Lumby makes no reference) plan for an all-Indian federation very nearly won acceptance. In fact, at one time during Wavell's negotiations only the issue of a single seat on the Viceroy's Council was in dispute.

However, the reality of Pakistan is firmly founded and is here to stay. It is extraordinary that there is a considerable minority of responsible Indians (as well as a few Pakistanis like Fazlul Huq) who are still suffering under the delusion that Pakistan is but a necessary evil and passing phase from which the subcontinent will eventually emerge triumphant and reunited. Furthermore, it may be that a subconscious refusal to accept the fact of Pakistan has automatically precluded the necessity for magnanimity which has been sadly lacking in India's attitude over Kashmir and lesser problems which still bedevil relations between the two countries.

IAN LE MAISTRE

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Canada and the Far East, 1940-1953 by H. F. ANGUS (*Toronto University Press, London : Geoffrey Cumberlege, 24s.*)

This is in the first instance a skilled, factual compilation, under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and of the Institute of Pacific Relations, of all the significant material regarding Canada's contacts with the countries of Asia since the beginning of the second world war. Secondly it is an interpretation of the material by the author, Dr. Angus, of the University of British Columbia, who was once Special Assistant to the Canadian Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, and has held a variety of other important appointments in keeping with his special interest in Canada's foreign relations.

Establishing at the outset the sober, healthy nature of Canada's nationalism, Mr. Angus states: "The Canada which is cautiously re-entering the Pacific area after the war is very different from the Canada that played a minor part, almost that of a super, in that area before the war. Confident, buoyant, hopeful nationalism; a full stomach and a generous purse; these things must make a strange impression on the war-torn and impoverished nations of Asia, on the Communists for whom nationalism has so often appeared as an ally, on the ancient civilisations which used to boast that they had witnessed all the vagaries of history. What, they may well ask themselves, are the real Canadian interests which lie behind this facade of nationalism? What influence will Canada bring to bear on the destinies of the Orient?"

Much still remains conjecture, but where enlightenment is possible, the author supplies it in his chapters on "Canadian Policy in the Far East," "The Record at the United Nations," "Trade Policy and Access to Resources," "Economic Assist-

ance," and "Cultural Intercourse, Human Rights and Immigration."

The subject is full of interesting anomalies and contradictions. In foreign policy many arise from the impossibility of permitting any fundamental divergences from that of her more powerful neighbour, the US. Her policy in Korea was also, it is explained, based on a blend of interests not wholly compatible. A model member of UNRRA, and with gifts and loans to China after the war totalling more than \$100,000,000, Canada is openhanded with her economic assistance to the area. At the same time Mr. Pearson is quoted as saying in 1953 that "The Colombo Plan continues to be one of the most important and constructive elements in our foreign policy." Yet Dr. Angus must open his chapter on "Canadian Opinion about the Far East" with the words "There is very little Canadian opinion about the Far East. The primary interests of Canadians, even when they are extra-territorial in character, lie elsewhere."

In keeping with the spirit of the times, Canada has given the vote to her citizens of Oriental origin, but her policy with regard to immigration is still "the courteous and humane exclusion of Asiatic labour." Canada is a young country, rich in resources and with much Lebensraum. Her closest neighbours are the US and the USSR, the two strongest and most unsympathetic world powers today. Not far to her west is China, the over-populated, awakening giant of the future, and the masses of the Indian sub-continent. Canada's attention will be, without doubt, increasingly attracted towards this region, whether she likes it or not.

D.M.

Japan's Role in Southeast Asian Nationalist Movements by
WILLARD H. ELSBREE (*Harvard University Press*)

Japan's role in the stimulation of the South-East Asian nationalist movements which surged so strongly in the post-second world war years has been acknowledged already by many observers of this key area of the contemporary world. Mr. Elsbree, however, is the first student of the region to examine Japanese policy in this regard as a case study in itself. His work is a valuable contribution to the understanding of contemporary South-East Asian political problems, although it is possessed at the same time of some very definite limitations.

It is Mr. Elsbree's view, and one which he documents most adequately, that the Japanese believed in the "spigot theory" of nationalism, whereby the force of the nationalist movements is accelerated and restrained according to the desires of the ruling power, which was, of course, conquering Japan. The objective of the Japanese, thus, was to use the nationalism of the several South-East Asian peoples to further their own ends. As Mr. Elsbree's volume shows, however, as the Pacific War turned against them, with a consequent weakening of their position in South-East Asia, it was the Japanese, indeed, who came to be used by these same nationalists in pursuance of their own quite definite aspirations. This was definitely so in Indonesia and Burma, the two countries treated in detail by Mr. Elsbree.

That manipulation of South-East Asian nationalism was an early aim of the Japanese is evident from the wealth of evidence summoned by the author. An exact idea of the kind of nationalism the Japanese hoped to see flourish may be seen from this quotation from material presented at the Tokyo War Crimes Trials: "It must also be noted that the independence of the various peoples of East Asia should be based on constructing East Asia as independent countries existing within the New Order of East Asia and that this conception differs from independence based on the idea of liberalism and national self-determination."

The limitation of the work is that Mr. Elsbree offers conclusions about all of South-East Asia based on evidence summoned primarily from Indonesia and Burma. What he says about these two lands is true enough, but it does not, as he implies early in the work, apply with minimum modification to the "whole Japanese occupation." The work, for example, completely ignores Thailand. It also fails of adequate treatment of the differences in Indochinese nationalism deriving from the Japanese use of the Vichy French in their occupation of that colony. In the case of Malaya, moreover, it might be said that the stimulation lent the cause of Chinese and Malay racialism by the Japanese occupation has hindered rather than helped the cause of Malayan nationalism.

For the picture it presents of the policy Japan set out to pursue, however, and the response it evoked in Indonesia and Burma, the book is highly recommended.

RICHARD BUTWELL

Account of the T'u-yü-hun in the History of the Chin Dynasty
Translated and annotated by THOMAS D. CARROLL, S.J.
(University of California Press. London: Cambridge University Press, 6s.)

This booklet is No. 4 of the Chinese Dynastic Histories Translations produced by the Institute of East Asiatic Studies of the University of California. These small, scholarly translations and studies, small threads pulled out from the vast cloth of Chinese recorded history, are well translated and annotated. The information they contain is carefully compared with the various sources of the same story. As is usual with translations from the Chinese, the notes form the major part of the work. The translation itself makes good reading although it is difficult always to see why the translator does not avail himself of more up-to-date reference works for quotations from the classics than those of Legge.

The biography deals with a leading tribe of the *hsien-pi* people who founded an independent kingdom in Chinghai Province in the late 3rd century A.D. They maintained their position for three and a half centuries from that time until the rise of the Sui and T'ang empires in the 6th-7th centuries. Like the Northern Wei peoples, of whom we have more evidence, they played an important role in the disorganised period which followed the fall of the Han empire in the 3rd century.

Such modest monographs are of interest particularly to specialists and are serious contributions to sinology without attempting anything too large or megalomaniac. A small criticism might be made that the introductory material is too sparse to put the non-specialist sufficiently in the picture. In particular a sketch-map would have been of great value. More background material would have enabled the general reader to place this tribe within the framework of general developments during a most complicated period and to assess its importance.

PETER C. SWANN

The Indus Civilization by SIR MORTIMER WHEELER (Cambridge University Press, 18s.)

In 1922, the year of the publication of the Cambridge History of India, our knowledge of India's pre-history extended only as far as the 6th century B.C. Today, since the discoveries of the early 1920's and subsequent excavations, these bounds have been pushed back to the 25th century B.C. In this supplementary volume to the Cambridge History, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, now that the first active phase of the exploration has been completed, provides a synthesis of our present knowledge of the new-comer—the Indus Civilization (2,500-1,500 B.C.).

The author's way with his subject is, naturally, that of the

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scholar and professional archaeologist: the picture which emerges (and it is a surprisingly complete one) does so out of a debris of dry fact and scrupulous detail. It is a picture of a bronze-using, peaceable, artistic people, with a talent for trade and city-building, living in a land considerably more fertile than the same region today, and supporting themselves largely from the growing of wheat and barley, and the pasturing of their humped cattle. In the delight which they took in ornaments of terra-cotta, faience, precious stones and metals is reflected their fondness for the animals which surrounded them. (The most ancient record of a dog chasing a cat must surely be that preserved in footprints in a Chanhu-daro brick as it was lying out to dry.) When their interest as a new archaeological find has worn off, these people will probably be best remembered for their fine sculpture.

The minutely-described excavations of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, the principal cities, are illustrated with good photographs and elaborate plans. Other illustrations include the now famous stone torsos, and warrior-priest's head, bronze and terra-cotta figurines, and the best of the steatite seals. The exceptionally good reproductions of the latter not only confirm these unique products of this civilisation to be minor works of genius, but also show clear and interesting examples of the as yet undeciphered Indus script.

M.J.P.M.

Compulsory Education in South-East Asia and the Pacific.
Report of the Bombay Conference, 1952 (UNESCO, 6s.)

More than half the children in the world are without schooling, and in the region of South-East Asia and the Pacific alone an estimated fifty-five million out of a total of ninety-five million children of school age are deprived of school facilities of any sort. On the other hand, Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognises the right of every person to education, and stipulates that education shall be free, at least in its elementary and fundamental stages, and that elementary education shall be compulsory. In 1951, with an International Conference in Geneva, UNESCO launched its long-term programme to provide universal free and compulsory education for all children of school age. Since then its activities towards this end have multiplied. This volume is number thirteen in the UNESCO series of national and comparative studies on Compulsory Education, and is the outcome of the UNESCO-convened Regional Conference on Compulsory Education (the first of five Regional Conferences planned) which was held in Bombay in December, 1952.

The volume is considerably more than a report of the Bombay Conference. UNESCO has drawn on its ever-

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accumulating resources of knowledge and experience in this subject to present a wide, though condensed, study of the subject, both regional and general, with the Bombay Conference taking the central place.

Discussion of the general issues gives way in Chapter 2 to a factual survey of the several educational systems at present in use in the countries of the region. Against this background follow the deliberations of the Conference, and then a brief conclusion completes the text. Appendices include the recommendations of the Conference in full, a list of participants, and, most appositely, the text of a working paper prepared at the request of the Second Regional Conference of National Commissions at Bangkok in December, 1951, giving a preliminary outline of international assistance available in the field of free and compulsory education. The inclusion of a reading list completes what is undoubtedly a comprehensive and invaluable short (156 pp.) guide to Compulsory Education both as a regional problem, and in its universal context.

MICHAEL MARTIN

Introduction to Rural Sociology in India by AKSHAYA R. DESAI (*Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, Bombay, Rs. 8*)

The study of Indian rural sociology is something new which includes elements of anthropology, economics, the history of the caste system and religious philosophy. The proper integration of these and other subjects relevant to the study is of great value. The Indian Society of Agricultural Economics invited Dr. Desai, who is on the staff of the Bombay University School of Economics and Sociology, to prepare this introductory volume which lays down the general pattern on which the study should be carried out. The importance of a sociological approach to the rural life of India in the understanding of its past and present and of future trends is stressed. The second part of the volume contains a number of general essays on the subject by authoritative writers who have not, however, had Indian experience but can advise on the broad lines on which the student of rural sociology should proceed.

D.S.P.

Rural Progress through Co-operatives (*United Nations, London : H.M.S.O., 5s.*)

I must confess to a feeling of disappointment on going through this report, which might have been far more effective if presented on a regional basis instead of dividing the theory of cooperative work into a number of sub-heads and enunciating general principles followed by some sketchy illustrations of work done. It is good to know that the cooperative movement is growing in strength and in particular that in Asia, excluding the USSR, there are 25 million memberships of cooperative societies. Some of the highlights of its achievements have been the work of consolidation carried out in India in the Punjab,

U.P. and M.P. which affected 1.6 million acres of land in which the number of plots were reduced from 4,250,000 to 646,000 between 1921 and 1949 ; the reorganisation of ancient societies formed in Japan for purposes similar to that of the Raiffeisen cooperatives and the part they are playing in Japan's post-war short-term credit system ; the supply of essential goods to three million consumers and their families in Burma and to two thirds of the population of Ceylon through consumer cooperatives ; and the work of societies in Malaya in helping to promote rural hygiene. It would be far more helpful in assessing the progress of the rural cooperative movement if a report of this type had had some breakdown of the very general figures given which would have conveyed to the reader an idea of the quality of the work done by societies, how much active participation membership implies and to what extent the societies are something more than a device for the securing of easy credit by the thriftless.

ARGUS

Watch in the Night by EDILBERTO K. TIEMPO (*Manila : Archipelago Publishing House.*)

This is an interesting novel for several reasons. The author is a Filipino professor, the head of the Department of English at Silliman University : the subject is the resistance movement during the Japanese Occupation with particular reference to the adventures which befall a young chaplain who finds himself enmeshed in it. Ramon Cortes is a young and thoughtful Protestant minister who becomes a hero of the underground for an exploit of which he is himself hardly proud. Living and working among the men of the resistance movement under an assumed name he has a considerable internal conflict to settle. He sees about him others of his people trying to assess the rights and wrongs of the major struggle going on in the East, some full of enthusiasm—often crudely evident—for the way of life which the Americans have introduced, others believing in the reassertion of Asian sovereignty in the East. Life is further complicated for him by his attachment to a Catholic girl with a mind and ideas of her own.

The story is very well told, even if the author does not conceal his own acceptance of American ways and standards and puts these sentiments into the minds of his characters. The reader who has never been to the Philippines gets a pretty good picture of their complex social pattern, of the many races and types that have influenced the islands, and can see in many points the resemblance in the habits and outlook of the Filipinos to those of other groups which have been influenced by a long period of association with Latin races of Europe. DAVID FARRIER

Le Laos by KATAY D. SASORITH (*Paris : Editions Berger-Levrault, 440 fr.*)

In the troubled state of Indo-China, Laos has contrived to remain a more or less peaceful oasis and the author of this little book, a well-known public figure of Laos, draws attention to its past political evolution and its present position in the French Union. He has no doubt of its ability to face the future with courage and hope but makes an appeal for Laos' problem to be considered as much in relation to Thailand and, to some extent, to Cambodia, as in relation to Viet Nam. Large numbers of Laotians live in Siam and the suggestion is that the people of Laos should enjoy the same rights, liberties and standard of life as their brothers on the other bank of the Mekong. The volume has a number of quite attractive illustrations and in the appendices are the documents relating to the constitution of Laos and its dissolution in 1952. Events have to a large extent caught up with the author of the volume, but as a record of an important phase in Laos' history it has its value.

TAN AH-TAH

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

IT is interesting to find two articles in recent issues of American magazines analysing United States policy in Asia and finding it at fault. American policy has often come under attack from Europe and Asia, but seldom from the US itself.

Nathaniel Peffer, Professor of International Relations at Columbia University, writing under the heading "Regional Security in South-East Asia" in the August issue of *International Organization* (Boston, Mass.), states that a security pact embracing the countries of South-East Asia is of no use at all, and for the US to conclude one at this time achieves nothing. He looks closely at the countries of the region and finds that, except for their opposition to western colonialism, they have nothing in common. He thinks that the countries of South-East Asia are quite aware of the "Communist peril," even though in some respects Communism appeals to them, but also they see no merit in the West: "Neutrality is, therefore, not an unnatural product."

The inhabitants of the region, Professor Peffer thinks, have no feeling of urgency or compulsion towards banding together to form a security organisation, and such a treaty without that compulsion would have no meaning, reality or force. SEATO, therefore, will remain a failure until the countries between India and the Pacific "are moved by a sufficiently strong sense of common danger."

Chester Bowles, former American Ambassador in India, is well

known for his sensible liberal approach to the situation in Asia, and in *Foreign Affairs* (New York) for October he takes "A Fresh Look at Free Asia" with encouraging results.

He finds that a fundamental error in US policy is that "in situations which are largely political and economic, we have too often responded with a barracks-room mind." Single-track anti-Communism is not enough to offer if one is thinking in terms of counter-revolution. He goes on to draw a convincing analogy between revolutionary America in the 18th Century and Asia as it is to-day.

Both Mr. Bowles and Professor Peffer reach the conclusion that has been propounded by informed opinion on Asia for some time, that a defence system "in Asia not supported by the Colombo powers is a limited military expedient carrying obvious political liabilities." But Mr. Bowles is not content with reaching conclusions. He states quite firmly that his countrymen must learn that Asian countries will not permit American direction of an anti-Communist front. "Further efforts along these lines are doomed to fail," and with each failure American prestige is gravely weakened.

In the current quarterly issue of *Pacific Affairs* (New York) there is a wonderfully clear exposition of the political situation in Singapore and Malaya. Francis G. Carnell, a lecturer at Oxford University, gives the whole story under the title "Constitutional Reform and Elections in Malaya."

A. K. Das Gupta in writing on "India's Foreign Economic Policy" in *India Quarterly* (New Delhi) Vol. X, No. 3, puts his subject against the background of the five-year plan. He is very interesting and informative.

THE MAGIC OF THE THAI HILLS

By a Special Correspondent (Bangkok)

THERE is, even to-day, a part of the world where the majority of people are actually happy. The massed ranges of hills spreading out from South-West China into Thailand, Laos, and the Shan States are inhabited by a number of truly happy peoples—various tribes each with a separate language and with a largely indigenous culture which has scarcely changed in several thousand years. The common characteristics of those I visited are an unconsciousness of dirt, a dislike of valleys, an immense cheerfulness, a quite astonishing respect for the rights and property of others, and an eminently sensible attitude to life as a whole. At different times I have stayed with the Miao and Yao tribes long enough to become fairly intimate with both, thanks to their fair knowledge of the Chinese language and to their delight in finding someone genuinely interested in their way of life. Of the many other tribes I shall say nothing, as my acquaintance with them has been superficial.

To discover the whereabouts of hill-tribes is not difficult. Wherever the hills of Northern Thailand rise to a height of about three thousand feet, there are almost certainly both Miaos and Yaos, whose presence is known to the Thais inhabiting the beautiful green valleys below; but to reach their villages is no easy task. The approach is by narrow paths, indiscernible to the stranger's eye, leading through dense jungle and across rivers often only fordable at certain times of the year. Presently the gradual ascent gives way to nearly perpendicular paths where a sure-footed Yunnan mule is the only possible alternative to a painful ascent on foot, yet the giant trees and hampering undergrowth show no signs of thinning out. Strange birds shriek and twitter among the branches, as though full of glee at the foolhardiness of seeking to learn the jungle's secrets, and stealthy movements close to the ground (probably caused by small frightened beasts) suggest unseen tigers or pythons lurking for

a kill. But gradually the atmosphere becomes more friendly; trees reminiscent of forests in more temperate climes, though surrounded by heavy tropical growths, seem like old acquaintances sent to allay the traveller's fears. Here and there, an isolated thatched hut inhabited by healthy, jolly-looking people draws attention to the wild tea-plants from which they cull sufficient leaves to make a living. Occasionally a Miao tribesman, distinguishable by his black clothes, vast scarlet sash and heavy silver ornaments, pads swiftly by on his way to trade with the valley-folk, grinning a cheerful greeting as he passes.



Miao Girls

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On and on, up and up, then suddenly—the trees are left behind; mile upon mile of bare hillsides indicate that the jungle has been systematically destroyed by fire in the interests of the most primitive form of agriculture in the world. The burnt trees and shrubs manure the ground and give a rich yield of maize or opium for about three years, after which the tribesmen abandon their village and exhausted fields and migrate in search of new pastures. I remember my first visit to a Yao village; it stood at the rim of a vast clearing just beyond the encircling trees, a group of loosely-scattered huts so simply constructed of axe-hewn boards and leaf-thatch as to appear incapable of standing a single rush of wind or downpour of rain. Women, moving about intent on various chores, appeared as though decked out for some brilliant gala. Every inch of their enormous trousers, comprising from six to eight yards of cloth, was minutely embroidered with gay cross-stitch patterns; their collars and pompon-buttons looked like shaggy sheeps-wool dyed a brilliant scarlet; and the circumference of their huge black turbans would have put the Vizier of Bagdad to shame. Many wore great ornaments of silver round their necks, as weighty as a coat of mail. Beside them the men looked insignificant; they were dressed in sober black Chinese suits bordered with a thin line of red, but they too carried a load of silver about their necks.

By the time my guide and I had dismounted, the Lao Biao (Headman) was bidding us welcome with unaffected pleasure. His house proved to be most luxurious by local standards; in addition to the usual bed-couches of split bamboo, there were actually two real chairs and some Chinese scrolls hung upon the inner walls, these latter being as rare as a genuine Louis XIV suite in an obscure village in Corsica! Best of all, it was possible to take a bath indoors—not that the Yaos ever thought of doing anything so dangerous to health as bathing—for the great hollowed-out trunk forming the kitchen sink was constantly fed from a mountain stream by means of a long bamboo pipe. A gourd dipper stood ready to hand.

That night, after a dinner consisting of vegetables, mountain squirrel and rice, my guide and I settled ourselves comfortably on a bamboo sleeping platform, where we were joined by the Headman and the male members of his family.

"How did we come to be here?" he said. "It all started long ago. The Emperor of China was much troubled by rebellious Miaos (presumably in Taiwan), so he sent his great dog to bite the Miao Prince to death. 'For what reward?' asked the dog. 'You may choose any that is in my power to give.' So the dog swam across the great lake (the Straits of Formosa?) and bit the Miao Prince so that sickness came and he died, afterwards returning to his Master and saying: 'It is done.' 'Good dog, most valued dog,' replied the Emperor, 'what shall be the reward?' 'Just the lovely princess, your daughter.' 'Ah, that is much; you are a dog.' 'It is not too much; you said I might choose.' 'True, true, and you are a most excellent dog,' sighed the Emperor; so the marriage took place. The Princess was fertile and brought forth many sons to the dog—our first ancestors. Hundreds of moons waxed and waned. Our people grew hungry. 'We will cross the great lake,' they said. So they set out in many boats, but a wild wind arose and they died in the waters. Then said some others: 'Pan, you Great Devil, you shall take us across the great lake and we shall offer you a pig.' Pan was pleased and three boats with nine families safely reached the further shore. Alas, our people were poor then and had no pig. So they made a beautiful pig of wood and offered it up. And now that we have real pigs, we offer them also. From the further shore, our people walked towards the setting sun and now we are here.

Others follow ; others have gone further West before us. Is it possible that all this is unknown to you ? ”

When the Headman had retired, my guide whispered : “ To-morrow, the women will come to view us.”

“ You mean to see what presents we have brought ? ”

“ No, to look us over. It is well we are neither of us youths, for if the Yao women take a fancy to a man they will not let him go till they tire of him. He is kept in a little house until they are weary.”

For the first time I thought of my few wrinkles with pleasure.

And indeed the women did come. More than one caressed the hairs of my arm, as though these were a great curiosity, and worse might have happened had I not remembered my camera. At the sight of this, there was a gasp of horror and the women fled, for they knew that a camera can remove a man's soul, causing sickness and death. When they were gone I asked about their marriage and other customs.

Both Yaos and Miaos believe in marriage for economic reasons. A hardworking, thrifty, capable woman is more sought after than an apple-cheeked girl content to rely on her personal charms. Prior to marriage, relationships between the sexes are matters of choice, and boys and girls act in the spirit of “ gather ye rosebuds while ye may.” But the tribes differ in that the Miao permit no such relationships with members of other races, thereby incidentally keeping themselves free from unpleasant diseases.

Though the Yaos are a hospitable, kindly people much addicted to laughter, I love the Miaos even more, for they have these same qualities combined with additional charms. Their ways of life are almost identical, but the Miaos are more artistic and lack even that minute dash of sophistication which was responsible for the chairs and Chinese scrolls. They dress magnificently : the black clothes of the men show off beautifully their scarlet sashes and the scarlet facings on their jackets ; while the women wear splendid embroidered kilts which they swing with a proud grace worthy of Scottish Highlanders. Moreover, they are extremely attractive.

The Miaos are very fond of music, singing and dancing. Youthful lovers gather in little groups at sundown and exchange improvised love songs, composed at the moment of leaving the singer's lips, yet perfectly rhythmic and properly rhymed. The rising moon glints upon their silver ornaments and reveals gestures full of animation and grace. Sometimes a youth will rise to perform a solo dance, accompanying himself on an instrument of slender bamboo pipes. Starting with a very slow movement, the dancer-musician gradually quickens his pace and ends by whirling round like a Russian Cossack ; the music is soft, haunting and immensely provocative.

The houses of both tribes are devoid of all but the simplest appointments—just a few bamboo couches capable of sleeping about eight people, low wooden stools, a crude circular stone hearth where a fire burns night and day, and a small table used for sacrifices to the ancestral “ demons.” As there is no chimney, everything is thoroughly smoked ; indeed, a complete disregard of dirt was the only serious defect I could find among those happy people. That they grow opium for trading purposes is scarcely a matter for reproach, since there have always been neighbouring governments willing to buy it, and because the inhospitable mountains, to which they were doubtless driven by men greedy for land in the Chinese valleys, are incapable of producing any other crop readily marketable. Coffee or tobacco require processing and the assistance of experts if they are to compete with those grown in more accessible places.



Miao youths with baskets for carrying produce

With their opium, the Miaos are able to purchase necessities—salt, rice, metal for implements, silver for ornaments, horses and other things. But most things they make or grow for themselves, including maize, cloth, dyes, crossbows, weapons, implements, wooden saddles, and a host of ingenious utensils fashioned from flaxen ropes, wood, bamboo and gourds. Given only salt and iron, they could maintain themselves indefinitely.

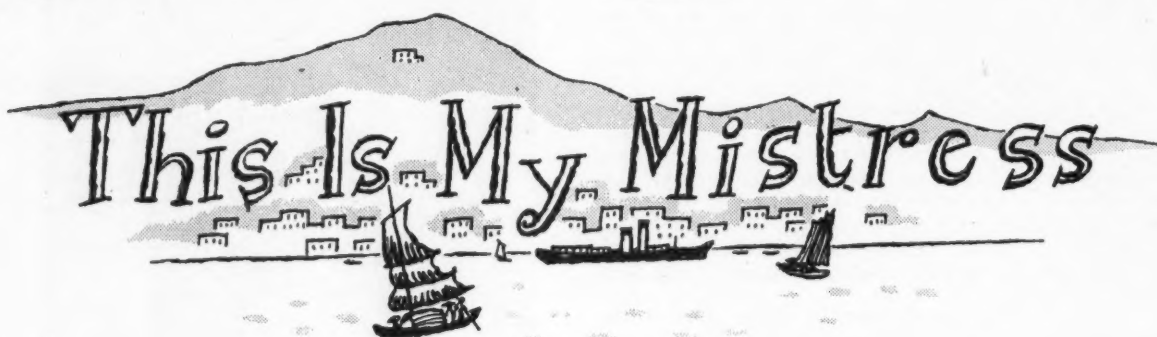
Religion is rudimentary, being confined to a propitiation of the spirits of their most recent ancestors. For three years the newly dead must haunt the neighbourhood of their tombs ; unless provided with adequate means for their ghostly existence, they are apt to visit sickness and death upon the living. Hence, water-containers, spoons and other necessities are left near the graves with careful instructions as to where the best water and food may be obtained locally. Another cause of ghostly resentment is any failure by those still alive to maintain the ancestral customs, even if a thoughtless youth is the offender. However, the sacrifice of a few pigs and chickens generally satisfies the outraged feelings of the “ demons,” whereupon health returns to the afflicted family.

Children are, of course, given no formal education, for there exists no written language ; they are expected to make themselves useful about the house and in the fields, but much of their time is delightfully spent on hunting expeditions, riding down the mountain on errands for their parents, or (if old enough) in making love. They are sweet-tempered creatures who never seem to quarrel.

By the most careful enquiries and observation I was unable to discover evidence of frequent crime ; even lying seems to have no part in their mutual intercourse ; stealing appears to them both foolish, on account of the smallness of

each tribal community, and dangerous in that it would inevitably provoke the "demons" to destroy the guilty ones. As for murder, it seems to be unknown, at least among the people whom I visited. For one thing, there would be ghostly wrath to reckon with, and for another there could rarely be a motive in a society where everyone is free to take as much land as his family can cultivate, where no spirit of competition exists, where sexual desires are easily satisfied, and where occasional wife-stealing merely involves returning the bride-money to the unlucky husband. Even wife-stealing is very rare, since most people marry for reasons unconnected with sex, and because premarital intercourse robs love of its "blindness."

A stranger cannot stay with these hill-tribes without being conscious of dirt, discomfort and rather childlike superstition. On the other hand, it is a revelation to find such a hard-living, impoverished community at once so happy and so honest. Such honesty naturally invites comparisons with the world outside, and the happiness is so infectious, so totally free from artificial smirks and grins, that a sympathetic stranger cannot leave such hosts without deep regret. The atmosphere is so exceedingly pleasant that dirt and discomfort seem a small price to pay for so much enjoyment, and each time I return to civilisation I feel a profound sense of loss and wish myself back in the hills. I am almost sure that, but for family responsibilities, I should by this time have enrolled myself as a resident honorary Miao.



By Florence Hayes Turner (Illustrations by A. M. Abraham)

ON my way home to the United States from Malaya in 1940, I found myself with a fortnight's wait between ships in Hong Kong. The city was ominous with troops, and a melancholy surge of refugees from the mainland filled the streets. Wondering what to do with myself, I remembered that Desmond James must still be teaching in Hong Kong and I telephoned at once to make an appointment, hoping that his cordiality would extend itself as far as a friend of a friend, which was all I was.

It did. The next afternoon I was summoned back to my hotel from the beach, where a quiet sea mocked the frightening proximity of barbed-wire and the horizon appeared limitless to my lonely gaze.

Desmond was waiting for me in the lobby, his short, plump figure hovering diffidently close to the door, and when he saw me approaching, he hurried across the verandah.

"This is splendid," he said in a light, rather breathless voice and I noticed with astonishment that he was blushing. His eyes behind their round spectacles were gleaming with a friendliness which was irresistible and I realised suddenly how shy he must be. He wore as evident sop to the Empire and his profession, a tweed suit, but the immense foulard cravat, flaring out from beneath his double chin, gave him the air of an 18th century cherub.

"My dear," he said, piloting me a little fussily towards the driveway, "you must take all your meals with me. How awful for you, staying in that hotel. The food . . ."

His voice died on the word with such a tone of disgust that immediately I understood the hotel meals which I had accepted uncritically, must be in reality of the lowest standard.

Drooping over the wheel of Desmond's car, an open roadster of uncertain age, was an exquisitely handsome Chinese boy with gentle eyes and brows like two brush-strokes.

"Ah Kwong, my cook and chauffeur," said Desmond. "I have never felt," he continued, helping me into the back seat, "that I could reach the state of intimacy with motor-cars which is required to drive them. In fact, I think it would be reprehensible of me to try."

We set off through the hills and as I held my hat and fought for breath I wondered if, although a creation of beauty, Ah Kwong too should not be considered reprehensible as a chauffeur.



The car finally stopped because the road itself ended at the foot of a steep hill covered with what seemed to me to be impenetrable brush. But even as I looked, a man emerged from a thicket with two pails on a stick slung across his back.

"My water-boy," said Desmond. "Everything has to be taken up on foot."

He offered this information with such an air of satisfaction that I felt the virtue of foot-travel could not be questioned.

We began to climb through the heavy undergrowth, following a well-worn path that rose steeply ahead, Desmond in the lead.

In about twenty minutes we had reached the top, emerging at the side of a clearing where a low, rose-painted house clung to the hill, its windows flashing in the light. I sank, panting, into a chair on the wide verandah, unable to speak, my eyes bewitched by the sight before me.



Desmond had flung seed to the soil with a lovely abandon and the result was a swathe of startling colour that covered the hillside from the house to the edge of the woods. A white goat was tethered nearby and a stubby procession of small pigs came pattering through the riotous flowers like a busy committee of welcome. One of these snuffed interestedly at my ankles and Desmond bent to scratch its back.

"Such a pity," he said, "that I am so fond of pork. I am constantly having to replace these little creatures."

He pushed the pig gently away. "Now, you must see the house. The light will be quite perfect."

Inside the house I caught my breath with pleasure. The large room where we stood had windows on four sides and there was a sense of space and sun and quick air from all the corners of the earth.

I wandered to a window and saw the sea far below, its bays and inlets sparkling between the many islands.

"My peak is a little higher than the others," said Desmond beside me.

He chuckled. "It is a constant source of irritation to my British colleagues. You see, in this part of the world, one's standing in the social hierarchy is measured by the height at which one lives. The higher, the greater the prestige, and, since the state of my own prestige is questionable, they feel it is somehow wrong that I should be allowed to possess what is possibly the finest view in Hong Kong."

He beamed at me. "But the reason is, as you have seen, quite a practical one. No roads. Most of the peaks have been stripped bare for fire-wood but until mine reaches that denuded state I shall continue to remain aloof. It's great fun, really."

He pushed me slightly.

"Please, if it doesn't bore you, I'd like to show you the next room."

I followed him down a short flight of shallow steps into a long room where a Persian rug covered the polished floor and bowls of flowers stood richly on every table. Desmond was watching me and I felt there was something in the room that he especially wanted me to see. Glancing around, my eyes found it almost at once and I knew from the small, satisfied sigh he gave that he had noticed the amazement I was feeling.

"This," he said in a declamatory voice in which was mixed amusement, "is my mistress!"

It was a long painting on parchment, a kind of Oriental Madame Recamier, the nude, golden body gracefully arranged on a couch, the eyes watchful and ironic, the lips slightly curved. In the fading light, her skin looked alive and I almost expected her to stir and hold out her hand towards me.

"Who is she?"

Desmond shrugged his shoulders. "My dear, I don't know. Some famous courtesan. I found her in a bazaar and bought her on the spot."

He smiled. "My students seem a little shocked by her propinquity, or perhaps they envy me, I'm not sure."

He stood looking up at the painting for a minute in silence, his small figure erect, his hands clasped behind his back. Then he suddenly reached up one hand and flicked the painting lightly.

"To me she is China," he said.

Then, turning away and rubbing his hands together, he said in a tone of childish pleasure, "Now, we can have tea!"

A few nights later we sat cracking sun-flower seeds before the open fire. The quivering flames accentuated the golden skin of Desmond's lady and I felt her eyes upon us as we talked. Desmond wore a blue, embroidered Mandarin coat and when I complimented him he told me about the last time he had worn it.

"It was one evening at the Club, I can't imagine why, probably a perverse feeling of curiosity. It was perfectly frightful, with all that khaki and white drill and the cummerbunds."

He stared pensively at the fire. "The poor things. I felt so sorry for them; they were hideously embarrassed, and they looked at me as though I had insulted them. Of course, I won't do it again. One must consider other people's feelings."

His round face was wistful in the firelight, like a sad child. It was an expression I had noticed before on the afternoons when he came home from work, his thoughts tormented by the sight of the unhappy refugees who swarmed through the city.

"If only I could help them," he said to me, clasping his hands together. "Money is no good to them. They must be relieved of their fear and their hopelessness."

It was on one of these same afternoons that I discovered Ah Kwong by the back door, ladling out a steaming mixture of

rice and fish to a dozen or more men, women and children, who held their bowls supplicatingly before them, and receiving their share, shovelled it hungrily into their mouths. I watched for a little while before I returned to the verandah where Desmond was lying on a long chair, contemplating his blazing garden.

"Desmond, who are all those people?"

He looked at me quickly, and I saw the blood rising to his plump cheeks.

"Refugees," he said off-handedly.

"But how long have you been doing this?"

"Oh, for several weeks. They come every day, but the trouble is I haven't room enough for more than five or six to sleep here."

"But you must feed dozens."

"Twenty, thirty, forty, when there are thousands of them? What good is that?"

We did not speak of it again.

The day I left Hong Kong, Desmond gave a small party for me at a Russian restaurant in Kowloon. As we drove down to the water-front, we saw my ship looming in the harbour, an American liner, her sides and decks painted with huge reproductions of the Stars and Stripes.



Desmond looked round at me with his beaming smile.

"My dear, aren't you Americans extraordinary? What a challenge, to advertise your neutrality like that! How long do you think you'll be able to continue?"

The evening passed swiftly. We toasted one another frequently in vodka while the caviar and the blini vanished from our plates. But my ship sailed at midnight and the moment finally came to say goodbye to Desmond.

He stood up a little tipsily.

"I'll only come as far as the door," he said. "Frightful things, farewells. Did you enjoy your blini?"

I looked out across the water, seeing the lights of Hong Kong sparkling up to meet the stars.

"I've enjoyed everything, Desmond."

I noticed that he seemed restive, as though wishing me to be gone, but, with a slightly alcoholic feeling of portending, and

because I wished somehow to show my affection for him, I said, "Desmond, what will you do?"

He looked surprised. "Do? I shall go back to my peak. What else is there for me to do?"

When the bombs began to fall, and we were all plunged in war, I used to think about Desmond and his peak, wondering if they had escaped destruction. It would have taken a wayward bomb with a delicate slant to render finally to dust that small house half-hidden in the trees.

A year after the Armistice, I learned what had happened to my friend. He had died in prison-camp, deliberately inviting death by teasing a Japanese sentry into shooting him.

"Of course," I thought, resting the pain in my heart, "Desmond would have loathed the squalor and the desperate unhappiness."

Although it was improbable, I wished that he might have been wearing his Mandarin coat when he died.

ARC WELDING IN THE JUNGLE

By M. P. Thomas

IN the foothills of the Himalayas, where Uttar Pradesh joins Nepal, is one of India's biggest irrigation projects.

Here the mighty Banbassa Barrage stretches its 2,000 feet across the Sadar River, to divert its waters into a network of canals which serve vast areas of the newly developed Terai and the parched plains of the former United Provinces. These canals run for hundreds of miles and their waters supply many thousands of farms.

When it is realised how much this water means in terms of food it is not surprising what almost superhuman efforts the engineers of the Irrigation Department of U.P. expend in maintaining the outlaw Sadar River in its existing course.

The wild Sadar river rises in the snow-clad ranges of the Himalayas and emerges as a rushing torrent from the hills at Banbassa. During its flood period it has a volume of 600,000 cubic feet of water per second and on this tide is carried huge uprooted trees and rolling boulders. Every year it tries to break its banks and take some new course which would by-pass the barrage: once this should happen nothing could bring it back, so the canal engineers have always to be anticipating the river with their ingenious training works, which consist of mile upon mile of bunds and spurs. The work never stops, and it is a great responsibility: for failure would mean the parching of a vast area of land, and loss of food to millions.

The name Banbassa means "Abode in the Forest," and here, in a little clearing carved from the wild jungle, live the "Keepers of the River." Their home, a veritable little paradise of flowering shrubs and gardens, is shaded by park-like trees, and overlooks the 2,000-ft. barrage, across which lies Nepal. All around this little settlement lie jungle and forest, abounding with wild game, and in which tigers and elephants roam.

Not satisfied with the wonderful job which they have already done, the engineers are now harnessing the waters

of the great canal to drive electric generators which will supply 45,000 kW. of electric energy to the rapidly-growing industries in the towns and villages of the Uttar Pradesh.

In March of this year the engineers were confronted with a problem. Because the trees and logs which float down the river must no longer pass into the canal where they would enter the penstocks of the new power-house and smash the turbines, a rack or grille had to be built across the front of the canal take-off gates. Steel members had to be in position before the inflexible opening date of the canal which falls in mid-March: if the members were not in position by then it would be necessary to wait another year for the opportunity to occur again.

To be strong enough to withstand the battering of huge trees forced against the rack by the great pressure of water, and still to offer as small a surface as possible, it was found necessary to strengthen 15 in. by 5 in. "I" beams by plating their flanges and, in the case of the longer spans, 90 lb. rails had to be added to obtain the necessary strength. On top of this it was found that steel members of sufficient lengths would be unavailable in time, which meant that short lengths had to be joined in a manner which would allow them to carry their designed load. It was realised that the usual method of riveting would not serve, since riveting, in the size available, would not be strong enough; moreover, a much quicker method would have to be employed if the job was to be finished in time.

So the call went to the Bareilly Government Agricultural Workshops where keen, educated young men of the new India are learning modern welding techniques from FAO engineers; from here a team of trainees took oxy-cutting and arc welding equipment to the scene, where they went about the race against time like experts. As helpers they had Nepalese workmen from across the river, who did not speak their language, and even in March the heat of the sun is something to be really reckoned with.

The author is FAO Agricultural Engineer in Bareilly, U.P., India.

Throughout the burning heat of the day and the warm, scented nights the searing blue arc fused the steel together; the spark streams flowed from the oxy-cutting torches, while the men from the remote mountains of the Kumaons and Nepal watched with wonder until the last big member was swung into place—just three hours before the canal gates had to open to restore life to the already parched plains.

ECONOMIC SECTION

TRAINING WITHIN INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By Clifford Fee (Bombay)

(The following article by a British "Training Within Industry" expert sent to India by the International Labour Organisation under the UN Expanded Technical Assistance Programme was written expressly for EASTERN WORLD.)

AT the present time—and the position is likely to be maintained for several years to come—India is gravely concerned with improvement of its productive capacity. If this country is to raise the standard of living of her 370 million people, the maximum yield must be obtained from machines and other equipment, from materials, raw or processed, and from her vast resources of man-power. This national aim carries with it heavy responsibilities for all those engaged in production or in industrial administration. A dynamic leadership is called for throughout industry.

There is no doubt that much is being done by the Government and by the leaders in industry to bring about a rapid increase in productivity. (Productivity experts from the International Labour Organisation have, for example, been in the country advising in the engineering and textile industries for nearly two years.) But there is another vital section of industry on whom responsibility falls heavy—that is the middle and lower levels of management and supervision. Whatever policies are determined, whatever plans are made by higher management, it falls to the lot of the supervisor on the workshop floor or in the office to interpret the policies and to carry them out. Faulty explanation of policy, indifferent execution of plans can arouse suspicion and distrust among the workers and ruin the best-intentioned efforts. The worker often forms his opinion of management, of policies, and of whole organisations from the statements and actions of his immediate supervisor.

It follows that the need is for a highly trained body of supervisors skilled in the arts of leadership, able to impart information without the possibility of misunderstanding, and able to organise a section so that machines and material are properly utilised. In less developed countries, where industrial traditions are just being formed and where illiteracy is a problem, the need for leadership among supervisors is even greater. The Indian Government and industry have been alive

As the technical representative of the International Labour Organisation, the author is now resident in Bombay, concerned with assisting the National Productivity Centre on T.W.I.

Here, surely, is an example of what can be achieved when men have the courage to bring new, or modified, techniques to meet special conditions. Modern machinery, skilled technicians, keen young engineers, some hundreds of labourers who could neither read nor write, all worked together to complete a useful job. Nor did this happen in a modern workshop where one might expect it, but far out in the Himalayan jungle.

to this problem and, through the International Labour Organisation and other agencies, have sought the experience of other countries in the development of skilled supervision. They have found that in most advanced countries, special forms of training are devised for supervisors.

One of the most successful of such training courses has been the scheme known as "Training Within Industry for Supervisors," a supervisor being defined as "anyone who has charge of people or who directs the work of others." Originating in America in 1940, it has been adopted as a basic training scheme for supervisors by the majority of industrial countries throughout the world. In the United States, over two million supervisors have been trained in this way, while in the United Kingdom nearly 300,000 supervisors have had the advantage of these courses to date.

Primarily intended as a help to basic industry, the Training Within Industry scheme has been used successfully in developing supervisory skills in engineering, textiles, ship-building, in railways and road transport, in armies and air forces, in hospitals, multiple stores, banks, insurance companies, and, not least, in local and national government departments.

It may be asked how a general series of programmes can be used in such a wide variety of industries, services and organisations.

The answer is that it is essentially a simple scheme devised after consideration of the essential requirements of *any supervisor*. These requirements can be outlined as follows:

1. A knowledge of the work done and the techniques used in his sections;
2. A knowledge of the responsibilities he has as a supervisor;
3. Skill in leadership;
4. Skill in giving instruction;
5. Skill in improving methods.

Knowledge of work and knowledge of responsibilities, of course, vary from industry to industry or from organisation to organisation, but the skills do not differ. Whether a man is a

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supervisor in a cotton mill, or an engineering workshop, a government office or a transport company, the basic principles of good leadership remain the same, the fundamental principles of good instruction do not change and there can be no difference in the approach to the improvement of a method.

So this Training Within Industry scheme (or, as it is more often known, "T.W.I.") concentrates on the development of the three skills. There is a programme named "Job Relations" which helps a supervisor develop his skill in leadership, skill in giving instruction is helped by the "Job Instruction" programme, and the "Job Methods" programme is designed to give skill in improving methods by using a definite and yet simple technique.

These programmes encourage the active participation of the supervisor. Conducted on discussion group lines, they invite the supervisor to utilise his own past experience in examining certain general principles relating to skilled supervision. Once the principles are accepted the supervisor has the opportunity to put them into practice in demonstration before the group.

T.W.I. believes that men learn to do by doing—not merely by looking on or listening to lectures.

T.W.I. has proved itself in the industrial world. So long as it is based on a positive training scheme for all the supervisors in an organisation it will bring, and in thousands of cases already has brought, about, to a high degree, the development of supervisory skill.

Such development brings in its train results such as these: Improved output, reduced scrap, fewer accidents, less damage to equipment, better relationship between workers and management, and improved methods of working.

Now as a result of the active cooperation of the International Labour Organisation in Geneva, the Government of India has begun implementing plans to introduce T.W.I. throughout the country. Concentrated work in group training and in training others to train groups has begun in the Bombay/Ahmedabad region and it is hoped will soon be expanded to the West Bengal/Sindri region. The claims of industrialists in the Delhi, Kanpur and other industrial regions, who have asked for T.W.I. assistance, will not be neglected. Interested leaders of industry will be advised on how to organise, on sound lines, the basic training of their supervisors. Before the experts leave India it is hoped that a national institute to administer T.W.I. will have been inaugurated under government sponsorship.

So much for the general position. As the first T.W.I. expert to be sent out by the ILO to India under the UN Expanded Technical Assistance Programme, I should like to say a few words on the work accomplished so far.

As I have said before, I have been working in the Bombay/Ahmedabad region, an industrial belt important for its textile and engineering industries. I have had the good fortune in having the whole-hearted cooperation of the Ahmedabad Textile Industry Research Association, the Millowners Association of Ahmedabad and the Textile Labour Association, the local trade union. My work is being carried out mainly in Ahmedabad but a smaller scheme has been initiated in the neighbouring textile town of Baroda.

Ahmedabad is an ancient city with many beautiful temples and mosques. About a hundred years ago, the first textile mill was set up in the locality and to-day almost the whole of its population of a million people depends upon the 70 cotton mills for their subsistence. Before my arrival, preliminary experiments with one T.W.I. programme Job Instruction had been made in five mills, thanks mainly to the efforts of the ILO's Field Office in Bangalore. Since then, the complete scheme, embracing the three programmes, has been introduced into 22 mills and is being introduced into as many of the remaining as possible. 2,241 supervisors have been trained in Job Methods, 1,502 in Job Relations and 202 in Job Instruction.

My mission has set itself the task, in this first year, of raising the standard of supervision in Ahmedabad to such an extent that most supervisors will be skilled in handling people, in conveying information or instructions and in improving working methods to the benefit of the product and the work-people. And to see that the gain in supervisory skills is maintained, we are training follow-up officers and organising a follow-up scheme.

I have been working in this field in the United Kingdom since 1945 as a member of the T.W.I. team of the British Ministry of Labour. I have been concerned with devising programmes, with modification and presentation, and with the training of trainers from almost every kind of industrial organisation or business.

One of the things that has struck me most among my Ahmedabad experiences, is the interest of the trade unions in the scheme. To ensure the smooth introduction of T.W.I. into the well organised (from the trade union point of view) local textile industry, it was necessary to make a complete explanation of the scheme to local trade union officials. It was decided to address the English speaking officials (about 16 in number) and explain the scheme to them in detail at a meeting. On arrival at the meeting, I found that there were about 100 officials present. Very few of them knew English. It thus became necessary to use the following procedure. I spoke for 10 minutes at a time and gave blackboard demonstrations and after each period a union official translated my words to the meeting. This went on for more than three hours and I am given to understand that the interpreter made an excellent job of following a complex subject and the series of illustrations.

Now that my first year is almost over, I can see the direct results of the introduction of T.W.I. into many mills in India. Managements have become "training conscious" and are planning other forms of education and training, not only for supervisors but for operatives too. The Government of India has appreciated the value of T.W.I. and the demand for such a series of programmes in Indian industry. The Government plans a national T.W.I. service and has already begun to select the personnel who will administer it. Within two years, there will be, operating from the National Productivity Centre to be established in Bombay, a Training Within Industry service ready to aid any industrial organisation in India.

CEYLON ENQUIRY

By K. G. Navaratne (Colombo)

ON July 8 the Press in Ceylon announced in banner headlines that Mr. N. U. Jayawardena, Governor of the Central Bank, had been suspended from office.

But the man in the street was not surprised. Though the national dailies had maintained a discreet silence on the matter, the less responsible elements of the Press had for weeks lashed at the Government with charges of bribery and corruption in high places. The suspension of the Bank Governor came merely as the culmination of days of public speculation, wild allegations and behind-the-scenes activity.

Once the announcement of the suspension was officially made, however, events began to move fast. Mr. Jayawardena was ordered to go before a Commission of Inquiry. Three members—two retired Supreme Court judges and the Chairman of the Public Service Commission—were appointed to the Commission. And the Deputy Governor of the Central Bank who was then in America was recalled.

The Commission's function was to inquire into the affairs and general conduct of Mr. Jayawardena and also of his wife, Mrs. Gertrude Jayawardena, and into their financial and other dealings with banks, corporations and individuals, and in particular to 49 specified matters. It was given wide terms of reference.

The general charge against Mr. Jayawardena was that he had conducted himself in a manner manifestly opposed to the objects and interests of the Central Bank.

The inquiry, which was instituted under the Monetary Law Act, commenced on July 27.

The case for the Crown was prepared and presented by Mr. H. H. Basnayake, Q.C., Attorney-General and Bribery Commissioner.

Mr. Jayawardena, who was represented by counsel (Mr. D. S. Jayewickrema, Q.C., and two others), was questioned in great detail on the 49 specified matters and other related transactions.

Mr. Jayawardena prefaced his evidence with an account of his career. He had begun life as a teacher. In 1926 he entered government service, and in 1934 became Commercial Assistant in the Registrar General's Department. In 1941 he became Deputy Commissioner, Commodity Purchase Department, and later Commissioner. This was during the war, when he also held the post of Director of War Supplies. For a time he lectured in Economics at the University, but in October 1947 he was appointed Controller of Exchange. From mid-1948 he held this post as well as that of Controller of Imports and Exports. The Central Bank was set up in 1949. He was appointed Deputy Governor in July 1950, and Governor in July 1953.

Mr. Jayawardena outlined the set-up and the functions of the Central Bank. The Central Bank was the bank of the bankers; it did not control the banking system in the country but it regulated the money supply. Nor did it exercise individual control of a bank as such. His dealings with other banks were as banker to banker.

At no time in his official capacity had he shown favours to anyone he said, nor had he derived benefits from anyone.

Mr. Jayawardena said it was correct that he had helped to find a house for his Assistant Secretary, Mr. A. O. Weerasinghe. Mr.

GOVERNOR OF CEYLON'S CENTRAL BANK DISMISSED

Mr. N. U. Jayawardena, Governor of the Central Bank of Ceylon, has been removed from office.

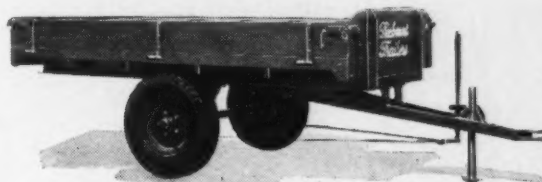
This follows the report to the Governor-General by the three-man Commission of Inquiry, published on October 14. The Commission has held that, whilst he was holding the office of Governor of the Central Bank, he did derive profit, benefit and advantage in a number of transactions with banks and other institutions, as well as with individuals.

Sir Arthur Ranasingha, Secretary to the Treasury and Secretary to the Cabinet, will succeed Mr. Jayawardena as Governor of the Central Bank.

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Weerasinghe had told him that the Chettinad Bank had a house, and he had said that all he could do was ring them up.

Question by Commission: Did you tell him that the Chettinad Bank was "under your thumb"?

Answer: That is a diabolical lie.

On the question of the issue of permits to import gold, he said he usually discriminated in favour of Ceylonese. Gold permits were issued both to dealers and manufacturing jewellers. There were rules governing their issue. He remembered an application for a permit by one Mr. Mukthar. Manufacturing jewellers would be issued gold, depending on how much they had consumed in the basic year (1948). Mr. Mukthar was granted 5 per cent. of his consumption, which worked out at 240 oz. (5 per cent. of 4,800 oz.). Before permission was granted he was satisfied in his mind that Mr. Mukthar should be granted an allocation of gold.

The issue of permits for gold for personal use to Mr. Mainnjee and Miss Geeganage were also queried.

Questioned regarding his dealings with one Mr. V. Dhanapala, Mr. Jayawardena said he came to know him better on his second visit to England. Mr. Dhanapala had a flat in London. He had seen the latter's ladies there. The ladies were a curious collection in the sense that there were two instances of mother and daughter in the group, and one of brother and sister. He did not know what Mr. Dhanapala's business was, nor the source of his income.

When he got the impression that Mr. Dhanapala was coming to Ceylon with his ladies, he warned him because people in Ceylon were going to ask questions. Mr. Dhanapala had told him in London to find a house in Ceylon. This was arranged through a Mrs. Kularatne when he (Mr. Jayawardena) came to Ceylon. The house belonged to a friend. He might have paid the rent himself.

Mrs. Jayawardena who had remained behind came back in the same boat as Mr. Dhanapala and his ladies. He went on board to meet his wife. He took her home and returned to meet Mr. Dhanapala.

The Commission questioned Mr. Jayawardena on the jewellery bought by Mr. Dhanapala and the ladies. He said all the jewellery was in one box. He did not see any gold.

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About a month later, Mr. Dhanapala had suggested that the jewellery should be sold as he needed money.

Mr. Jayawardena had told him not to sell it so early.

Later, on Mr. Dhanapala's suggestion, Mr. Jayawardena had bought the jewellery after valuing it. Mr. Jayawardena obtained an overdraft of Rs. 29,000 from the Bank of Ceylon with the jewellery as security, and paid Mr. Dhanapala Rs. 13,000. Later he paid another Rs. 5,874.

Mr. Jayawardena said he did not make any profit on the deal.

The Attorney-General referred to figures relating to Mr. Jayawardena's salary and his deposits and withdrawals from various banks over the years 1947 to 1953.

Mr. Jayawardena's salaries for the years 1947-1954, according to evidence before the Commissioner, were then given. They were between Rs. 26,000-Rs. 34,743. That for 1952 was Rs. 26,764 (Rs. 31,305 without deduction). Deposits and withdrawals from two banks, The Bank of Ceylon, and the Chartered Bank, for the same years were then quoted. Those for 1952 showed: Bank of Ceylon: Deposits, Rs. 88,851; Withdrawals, Rs. 90,650. Chartered Bank: Deposits, Rs. 383,020; Withdrawals, Rs. 281,645.

Mr. Jayawardena said that these figures were arithmetically correct, but, when monies were transferred from one account to another, there was an element of double counting which did not bear any relation to salary and deposits.

Mr. Jayawardena then answered in the affirmative to 15 of the 49 specified items, the majority of which dealt with the obtaining of overdrafts and loans for Mrs. Jayawardena at the Bank of Ceylon, the Chartered Bank, and the State Mortgage Bank. One dealt with the obtaining of a loan from the Bank of Ceylon on a pledge of jewellery.

He admitted having taken a number of loans, but all of these except for one of Rs. 206,000 borrowed by his wife from the State Mortgage Bank, had been paid.

When the bank statement of Mr. Jayawardena was being examined his counsel said that a statement of the transactions of the Finance Minister with the Bank of Ceylon and the State Mortgage

Bank, should also be obtained to serve as a standard in judging Mr. Jayawardena's dealings.

Counsel for the Bank contended that in law a bank should not make any disclosures regarding the business or affairs or a statement of accounts of any customer unless they had the express or implied permission of that customer, or unless the bank was compelled by law or by a court to disclose such information.

This objection was upheld by the Commission, which agreed that though it had wide powers yet it could not compel a witness to give information if he could put before it sufficient reason for not doing so.

Mr. Jayawardena was in the witness box for six days.

Mr. D. S. Jayewickrema, in his address to the Commission, said an inquiry such as that, to probe into the affairs of a man and his wife, had never been heard of in any part of the world and would never be heard of in the future.

He referred to the Monetary Law Act which allowed the Prime Minister to remove from office the Governor of the Central Bank if he had done any act opposed to the interests of the Bank.

He said Mr. Jayawardena was the prime figure in the inquiry, but Mrs. Jayawardena was merely thrown in. An objective standard was needed by which the Commission could judge Mr. Jayawardena's conduct before and after he became Governor. He had held various high offices without adverse comment. When an invitation was published in the Press for anyone to come forward to give evidence, only one person had done so. Apparently no one knew anything adverse about Mr. and Mrs. Jayawardena.

Mr. Jayewickrema said much time had been spent on irrelevant issues, things that had happened even before the Central Bank came into existence.

There was no doubt, he said, that Mr. Mukthar was an importer of gold. The Public Service Commission which had inquired into that matter then had not found even a technical breach. In the issue of a gold permit to Mr. Mainjee, putting it at its worst, there had been nothing more than a misconception. It was asked why Mrs. Jayawardena bought certain jewellery specially from Mr. Mukthar. He asked the Commission how this affected the Central Bank.

Referring to loans, he said Mrs. Jayawardena had made use of the services of her husband to obtain a loan, as any wife would normally do, and there was nothing objectionable in it.

He dealt point by point with the evidence brought against Mr. Jayawardena, and said that of the tens of thousands of decisions made by Mr. Jayawardena a few had been taken for investigation. Mr. Jayawardena had done 9,995 things correctly but he had done 5 things wrongly.

The Attorney-General in his address said he was not there in the role of a prosecutor, but to assist the Commission to ascertain the facts relating to the matters referred to it. He said there seemed to be no security for some of the loans obtained by Mr. Jayawardena for his wife. It had to be remembered that Mr. Jayawardena held a high position of trust. Mr. Aitken (of the Chartered Bank) had stated that the overdraft of Rs. 50,000 was given on the standing of Mrs. Jayawardena's husband. One could not get away from the fact that if Mr. Jayawardena had not been Governor or Deputy Governor that overdraft could not easily have been obtained.

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There was nothing wrong in Mrs. Jayawardena obtaining loans from the State Mortgage Bank, but when loans were taken when Mr. Jayawardena was in that post it was bad in the eyes of the public, he said.

The Attorney-General said that Mr. Dhanapala's distress had resulted in an immediate profit of Rs. 14,000 to Mr. Jayawardena.

He stated that just because Ministers and other high officials had guaranteed loans or borrowed monies, there was no reason why the Bank Governor, too, should borrow. Two wrongs did not make a right. A Bank Governor should set a very high standard.

Generally, added the Attorney-General, the course of conduct observed by Mr. Jayawardena was not the course of conduct one would expect from persons of trust. He had to maintain a strict impartiality, and the loans and overdrafts he had obtained were not in the public interest.

Altogether the Commission sat for 19 days. Forty-seven witnesses were examined and a total of 196 documents were produced. The report of the proceedings has run into 850 pages of type-script.

During cross examination of witnesses the names of people of all strata of life, including that of Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, the present Governor-General, as well as those of race-horse owners, jewellers, company directors, building contractors, brokers and lawyers, were mentioned.

FARNBOROUGH AND THE FAR EAST

By Our Air Correspondent

ANY disappointment in the lack of new types at the 1954 Exhibition of the Society of British Aircraft Constructors held at Farnborough from September 6-11 was amply compensated for by the sober reassurance of the wealth of up-to-date production models on view.

Various versions of the English Electric Canberra were put through their formidable paces. This aircraft, which has held the England-Australia record since January, 1953, is now also in production overseas for the United States and the Royal Australian Air Force.



The Hunting Percival "Provost," a two-seat trainer, bought by the Burmese Air Force

Of especial interest to Far Eastern readers is the highly successful Hunting Percival Provost trainer. The piston-engined version of this side-by-side two-seater basic trainer, amply powered by a 550 h.p. Alvis "Leonides" engine, put up a remarkably fine display of aerobatics, which left no doubt as to its qualities. The Provost has a top speed of 200 m.p.h. (322 k.p.h.) and will climb to 10,000 ft. (3,050 m.) in 7 minutes. Foreign air forces to which it has been supplied includes the Burmese Air Force. Its younger sister, the Jet Provost

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One of the climaxes of the show was the midweek appearance of the production prototype Mk. 100 Bristol Britannia. This aircraft, which is one of Britain's airline giants of the future, is powered by four Proteus turbo-prop motors, and is designed to carry 92 tourist, or 60 first-class passengers. BOAC have ordered 33 Britannias, with an option on a further two, while the company are in receipt of a letter of intent from Qantas Empire Airways, the Australian company, for six. Negotiations with other overseas operators are in progress.

One of the most remarkable take-offs was made by a Scottish Aviation Prestwick Pioneer, which clambered off the ground at an ungainly but effective angle almost as soon as the pilot had finished opening the throttle. The RAF is already operating 4 of these aircraft in Malaya, while 6 more are on order. It was designed as a four-passenger and pilot, front-line communication aircraft for operating from rough surfaces and small landing grounds. In practice, in difficult jungle territories, the RAF has found that the requirements for the average service pilot using these aircraft is 86 yards (73 m.). It has a top speed of 162 m.p.h. (261 k.p.h.) and cruises at about 130 m.p.h. Besides the steep angles of approach and climb, the specification to which it was built demanded that it should be capable of withstanding long periods in the open and of being maintained by semi-skilled personnel in isolation from technical facilities and under severe climatic conditions. A 16-passenger, twin-engined version has been developed, known as the Twin Pioneer.

The De Havilland Company are now one of the most impressive enterprises in the industry. Their full range was on show—from Comet III to the Type 110 two seat all weather naval fighter (two Rolls Royce Avon jet engines) which has recently been fitted with an "all-moving" tail-plane to improve control and manoeuvrability at transonic and supersonic speeds. The Comet III is a graceful, enlarged 58 first-class/76 tourist passenger version of the Mark II; the extra nose length is especially noticeable. But when the Comets will be back in service is another matter: the official guess seems to be around the autumn of 1955. Both Marks of Comet are on order by Japan and India.

Also on view from this stable were the still very handsome and serviceable smaller passenger aircraft now familiar to the Asian and Far Eastern air traveller: The Heron, Series 2, a 14/17 seat transport (4 D.H. Gipsy Queens) of which Garuda Indonesian Airways operate a fleet of 14, JHAT (the Japanese company) three, and for which a recent order of eight has come from India; and the Dove (2 D.H. Gipsy Queens), of which the 5/6 seater "executive model" was on view. This is also available as an 8/11 seater for general transport duties, or in ambulance, survey, crop-spraying and radio-training versions.

Two other De Havilland aircraft which have been exported to Asia in some numbers are the Chipmunk Trainer (one D.H. Major), and the Beaver, Series 1, (one Pratt & Whitney Wasp Junior engine). The governments of India and Indonesia possess 36 and 6 Chipmunks respectively for use as basic service trainers. The Beaver, a versatile machine designed for liaison and casualty-evacuation, cargo-work, crop-dusting, supply dropping, border, coastguard and forest patrols, aerial survey, etc., carries a pilot and six passengers (or cargo) and fuel for a stage of 700 miles. The Beaver Series 2 (one Alvis "Leonides" engine) which we saw at Farnborough, requires a full-load take-off run of only 130 yards in still air, and has a rate of climb of 1,500 ft. per minute. There was no deception: six large soldiers, complete with Sten guns and full equipment were embarked just before the Beaver impatiently devoured its 100 yards or so of tarmac, and was making effectively for the clouds. Beavers have gone to Japan, Indonesia, and Malaya, where five are operating.

An exhibit in the static aircraft compound was the D.H. Vampire, two-seat Service trainer (one D.H. Goblin jet engine). A recent contract for eight of these D.H. 115s was signed with the Government of Burma during September for use in the Burmese Air Force.

An interesting harbinger of things to come was the hand-out from the Handley Page stand entitled "Handley Page unveils the Herald." The Herald, until recently known as the HPR3, of which a mock-up was on view, is a flexible medium-range civil transport specially designed for the carriage of passengers and/or freight to and from primitive airfields in all climates. Powered by 4,870 b.h.p. Alvis "Leonides Major" engines, it will have a cruising speed of 200 m.p.h. and a maximum range of approximately 1,800-2,000 miles; its all-up weight will be 34,000 lbs. Special features include: flexibility of use, in that it can be converted with ease from 44 tourist passenger airliner, to 36 first-class passenger airliner, to airliner/freighter, to freighter as required; pressurisation; short landing and take-off distances enabling it to be operated from a 1,000 yd. grass strip; low take-off and landing speeds; ease of maintenance; and low operating costs (1.45 pence per passenger-mile, or 15.2 pence per ton-mile). A large amount of study of world requirements preceded the drafting of the Herald specification, including a survey of nearly every airline in Asia, Australasia, Africa, South America and Europe. It looks as if Asian and Far Eastern operators should keep an eye open for the Herald, of which the prototype is expected to make its maiden flight next year. Deliveries for commercial service will begin in 1957.

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PAKISTAN'S INDUSTRIES

By a Karachi Correspondent

JUTE INDUSTRY

THE Government of Pakistan has entrusted the task of helping the jute industry to the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation which was set up in January, 1952, by an Act of Parliament. Today the Corporation is engaged in implementing the six-year Development Plan of the Government of Pakistan under which it was proposed to install 6,000 looms by 1957. The PIDC's present scheme, on which work is in full swing, envisages the installation of 6,250 looms by 1955 with a capital of Rs. 16½ crores (£16.5m.). Of this the PIDC is investing Rs. 6½ crores (£6.5m.) on behalf of the government while Rs. 10 crores (£10m.) are being provided by private industrialists.

The activities of the PIDC in this field have been so successful that not only two of the Adamjee factories have already gone into production but that there is keen competition among industrialists to complete the construction of these factories and bring them into production at the earliest instance, so that the installation of 6,250 looms is expected to be completed much ahead of the schedule.

Thus, by 1955 Pakistan will have in production 6,250 looms with a capacity of 200,000 tons of jute goods a year of the value of £22m. After meeting the internal requirement of 40,000 tons of jute goods, Pakistan will be able to export as from next year 160,000 tons of jute goods of the value of Rs. 18 crores.

The swift progress Pakistan has made in this field can be gauged from the fact that today 1,500 looms of the Adamjees are already in production, manufacturing jute goods at the rate of 50,000 tons a year. Thus, today she is in a position not only to meet her internal requirements of 40,000 tons but to export 10,000 tons of jute goods a year thereby saving £4m. and earning £1m. of foreign exchange. This is certainly no mean achievement.

The extent of economic prosperity that will accrue to the country from the jute industry as from next year can be assessed from the fact that the 1.2m. bales which the 11 factories will consume annually, if exported raw would fetch only £15m., while if sold as manufactured goods would be of the value of £22m. Thus, the jute industry will annually fetch Pakistan £7m. more, which will be a substantial addition to her national wealth and will provide employment to thousands and considerably enhance the standard of life of the people in East Pakistan.

WOOLLEN INDUSTRY

Wool is among the first four important raw materials produced in Pakistan, the other three being jute, cotton, and hides and skins. Pakistan's annual production is 28m. lbs. (350,000 maunds) of the value of £5.5m., but she had only five woollen mills of which two manufactured

yarn for the handloom industry. Under these circumstances almost all her wool was being exported raw, entailing a heavy loss to the country's economy. Another factor that needed attention was that the major wool producing areas such as Baluchistan and the Frontier Province did not possess a single woollen mill. Thus the government was called upon not only to set up woollen mills but to locate them in areas which produced the bulk of the raw material.

From as early as 1949 the Central Government had deputed its officers to make a survey of Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province and to report on the possibility of building woollen mills in the areas. The report being favourable, land was acquired at Harnai in Baluchistan and Bannu in the NWFP, and orders were placed for machinery in 1950. But since progress was slow and considerable difficulties were being experienced, the work of building up the woollen mills was handed over to the PIDC in October, 1952, and within a year, i.e., in November, 1953, the mills were in production. The PIDC is planning another woollen mill for Qaidabad in the Thal area of the Punjab in cooperation with the Thal



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Development Authority. Work on this mill will also begin shortly.

The Harnai Woollen Mills in Baluchistan handle 50,000 maunds (4.1m. lbs.) of wool annually of which 33,000 are produced locally and 17,000 are brought from Afghanistan and Iran. The mill cost £500,000 and has a manufacturing capacity of 80,000 barrack blankets, 800,000 lbs. of yarn for cottage industries and 540,000 lbs. of fine tweeds, ladies' dress goods and other finer woollens when working in two shifts a day. The total value of these products is estimated at £800,000. This gross annual revenue will be against an annual expenditure of approximately £700,000. Thus, the factory is expected to yield an annual profit of £100,000, i.e., 10 per cent. on annual expenses and 20 per cent. on the capital investment of £500,000.

The mill has its own power house and boiler house. A properly equipped workshop is also attached to it. Apart from the residential accommodation for its staff, there is also a labour colony.

The weaving plant of 24 looms attached to the mill will be capable of taking up only 40 per cent. of the woollen yarn produced by the mill. The balance of 60 per cent. will be available for supply to cottage industries of the area for the manufacture of carpets, blankets and tweeds, etc.

The mill itself will employ 500 persons and provide succour to more than a thousand families engaged in cottage industries.

The woollen mill in the North-West Frontier Province has been constructed at Bannu, which is situated in the middle of the tribal areas of North and South Waziristan. The conditions here are almost similar to those prevalent in Baluchistan and the purpose of establishing the mills is also the same, i.e., to benefit the people of the tribal areas and help revive the handloom industry which will not only provide employment but raise the standard of life of the people.

The cost of construction, production capacity and the value of goods to be manufactured at the Bannu Woollen Mills is exactly the same as that of the Harnai Mill.

The Tribal people have hailed the two projects as a step forward on the road to progress. The Frontier Province has already taken rapid strides in this direction and the Bannu Mill will serve as another link in this chain. But the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation has another objective to achieve. It wants to transfer the ownership of these mills to private enterprise especially to local people.

Mr. Ghulam Faruque, Chairman of the PIDC, in his address of welcome at the opening ceremonies of both the mills, expressed the hope that local capital would come forward to take over the factories. Once this is done the PIDC intends investing the capital in other industrial enterprises in these undeveloped areas.

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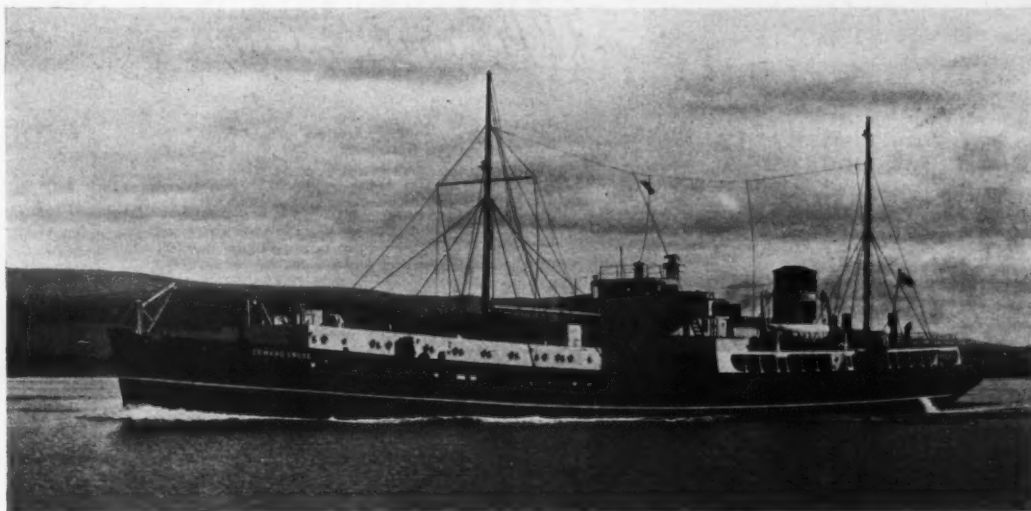
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SCOTTISH INDUSTRIES AND THE EAST

By a Special Correspondent (Glasgow)

ONE of the largest orders placed at the recent Scottish Industries Exhibition in Glasgow was the £250,000 contract secured from an Australian firm by the Dalzell Electric Welding Co. Ltd. for tankers which will transport milk, beer and other goods. The Glasgow Exhibition has again clearly shown the further possibilities of developing Scottish exports to South-East Asia, the Far East and the Pacific, markets which are regarded by many Scottish industrialists and merchants as the traditional outlets for their products. In addition to the visits by the Pakistan High Commissioner, Australian High Commissioner, the Indian Commercial Minister (London) the Trade Commissioner for Malaya, and high officials from other countries of Asia, the Exhibition was visited by a large number of trade buyers from that area, resulting in many orders and inquiries.

Scottish export industries have a very wide range of products—from ships and capital goods to consumer goods—to offer to the markets of Asia and the Pacific. While Scotland's population amounts to only 10 per cent. of the total UK population, Scottish industries produce 70 per cent. of the total number of boilers, 60 per cent. of coal-cutting machinery, and 50 per cent. of locomotives produced in the UK.

Scottish manufacturers of locomotives and other rolling-stock who have supplied large amounts of equipment to that area in the past, are anxious to continue doing so in the future. The

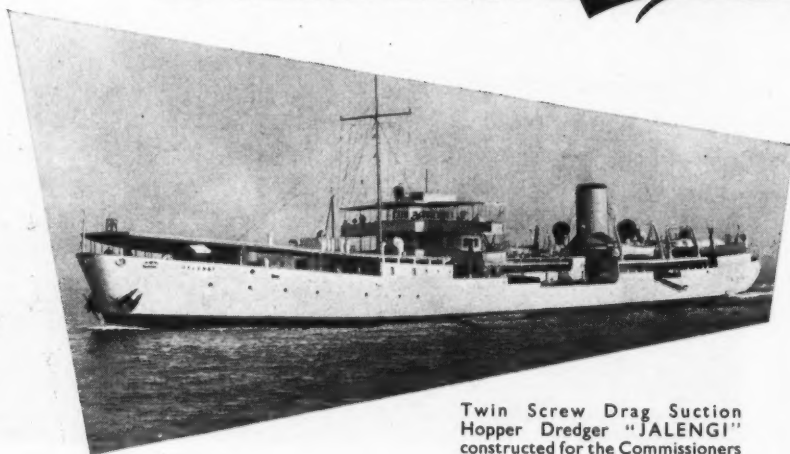
increase in steel supplies gives them an opportunity for better delivery terms. North British Locomotive Co. Ltd. has recently secured an order for locomotive components and boilers. This company is shortly to deliver diesel-hydraulic main-line locomotives to India and Malaya. They will be also exporting diesel locomotives with MAN engines which are to be manufactured in Glasgow under a new licence agreement.

The Scottish Machine Tool industry participates prominently in the total UK machine-tool exports which during the first eight months of 1954 amounted to £1.3m. to India, £628,459 to Pakistan (as against £138,940 in the corresponding period of last year), and to £2.5m. to Australia. The Scottish Machine Tool Corporation comprises several factories; A.I. Electric Welding Machines Ltd. secured recently an order for a butt welding machine from the Indian authorities. John Lang & Sons Ltd., together with other member firms of the Associated British Machine Tool Makers Ltd., have their own offices in India and Pakistan. Henry Pels & Co. Ltd., a company of the North British Locomotive Co. Group, exhibited their products in Glasgow and are anxious to develop their exports.

Another exhibit at this Exhibition was a new portable machine tool which appears to be of great interest to ship-repairing and engineering firms of Asian and Pacific countries and which is produced by Nicol and Andrew Ltd., Glasgow. This new

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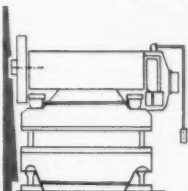
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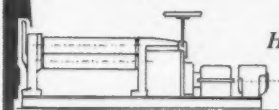
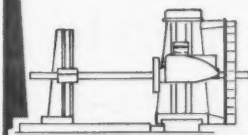
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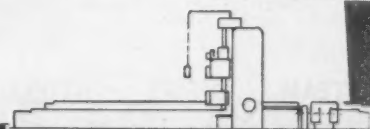
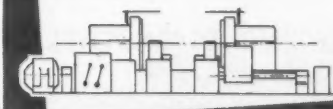
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machine—"Masterhone"—is capable of grinding and super-finishing crankshafts of large diameter rapidly and *in situ*. In the past, the firm concentrated on grinding and honing machines for the work in smaller diameter. The latest model can be supplied with power to the transmitter by diesel or petrol engine, when no electricity is available. In addition to supplying machinery, Nicol and Andrew in several instances have sent their crew and machinery to carry out the required work on the spot.

Scottish manufacturers of sugar-refining machinery, including A. & W. Smith & Co. Ltd. and Mirrlees Watson Co. Ltd., are prominent suppliers of the Asian markets.

The factories in the Dundee area continue to supply textile machinery, including jute machinery, to India and Pakistan, while at the same time Dundee remains the main centre of Britain's imports of jute and jute goods from these countries.

Among the exhibitors at Glasgow was Ioco Ltd., Glasgow, who are continuing their efforts to expand their exports, including insulating sheets and tubes, black adhesive tape, suedette proofings and rubber hoses, to Asia and the Far East.

While the United States and Canada continue to be the main markets for the Scotch and Irish whisky industries, exports to Australia have increased recently and amounted to the value of £725,399 during the first eight months of 1954, as against £482,151 during the corresponding period of 1953. During the first eight months of 1954 exports to India were to the value of £209,003, to Singapore £69,261 and to the Federation of Malaya £78,678.

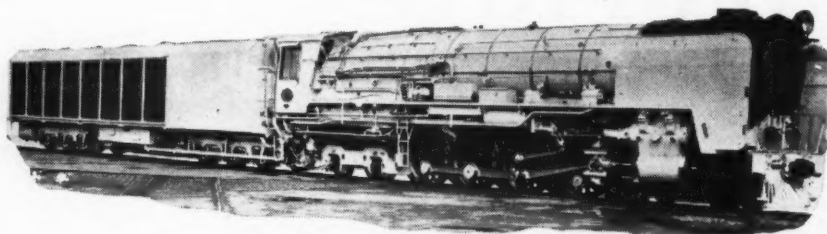
A number of firms of the foodstuffs industry, including those producing canned goods, biscuits and confectionery, exhibited in Glasgow.

Scottish shipbuilding yards build about 40 per cent. of the UK total tonnage built. An important percentage of the ships

under construction are either for western shipping companies whose vessels trade between the West and Australasia, or for clients in the East. Ocean-going vessels are being built for P & O Line, BISN, Eastern & Australia SS, Ben Line, Indo-China SN, Bibby Line, Wilhelm Wilhelmsen, Clan Line, British & Burmese SN, and others by the Scottish shipbuilding yards—Barclay, Curle & Co. Ltd., John Brown & Co. (Clydebank) Ltd., Chas. Connell & Co. Ltd., Wm. Denny & Bros. Ltd., Greenock Dockyard Co. Ltd., Lithgows Ltd., Scotts' Shipbuilding & Engineering Co. Ltd., Alexander Stephen & Sons Ltd., and others.

In addition, vessels of a smaller tonnage, coasters, dredgers, hopper barges, and special harbour vessels are under construction for Australian and Asian account by a number of Scottish shipbuilders. Only recently Fleming & Ferguson Ltd., Paisley, completed the building of the buoy vessel *Mee Pya* for the Burmese authorities. This Paisley firm has delivered during the last few years a number of vessels, including dredgers, to Burma. Lobnitz & Co. Ltd., Renfrew, and Wm. Simons & Co. Ltd., Renfrew, belong to important suppliers of dredgers and specialised vessels to Asian clients. The latter firm recently secured an order for boilers from the Indian authorities.

A number of vessels for registration in Australia are under construction at the yards of Ardrossan Dockyard Ltd., Ferguson Bros. (Port Glasgow) Ltd., James Lamont & Co. Ltd., Burntisland Shipbuilding Co. Ltd., Grangemouth Dockyard Co. Ltd., Hall, Russell & Co. Ltd., and others, while the Caledon Shipbuilding & Engineering Co. Ltd. has a passenger vessel for Straits Steamship Co., Singapore, and Yarrow & Co. Ltd. has passenger ships for the Burmese authorities under contract. Ailsa Shipbuilding Co. Ltd., Troon, are reported to have been successful in securing orders recently and have done some work for foreign account. In connection with the forthcoming visit



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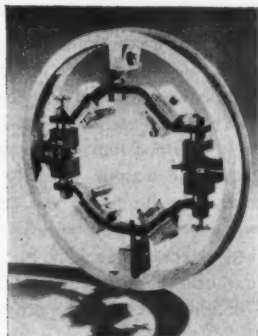


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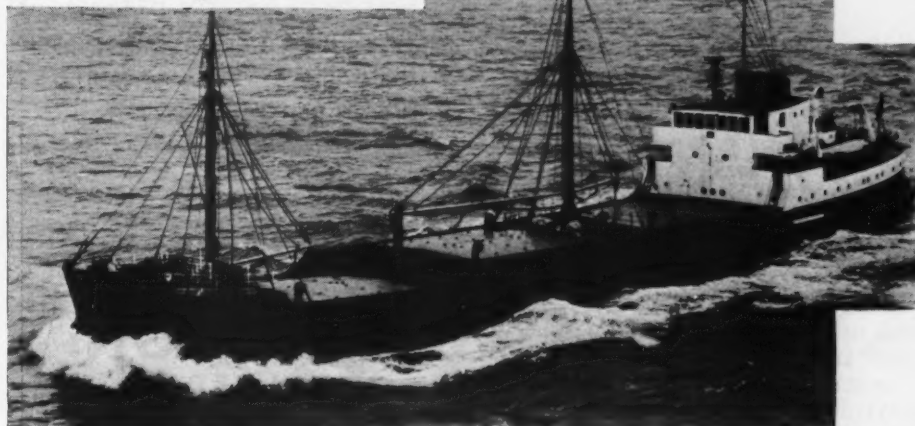


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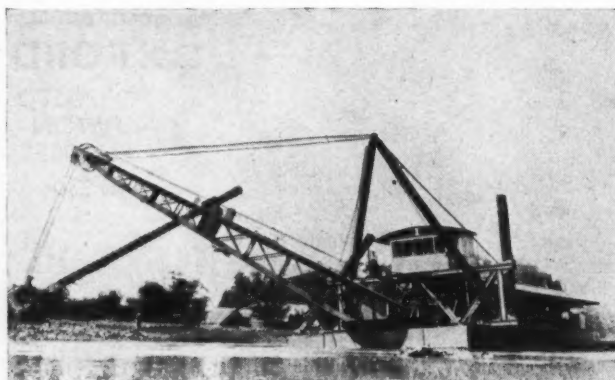
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of the Burmese Government Purchasing Mission, some Scottish shipbuilders hope to secure orders from this market.

The Port of Glasgow which possesses today over 12½ miles of quays open to the tide, and up-to-date facilities for ocean and coastwise shipping, is an important shipping centre between the United Kingdom and Australasia. The yearly tonnage of vessels using the Port is about 14m. and of goods about 6m. The principal imports and exports are grain, iron and steel, machinery and boilers, oil and petrol, whisky and timber as well as other goods. The development of the Port can be seen from the fact that while in 1759 its revenue was about £100, the revenue in 1953 was over £2m. It is hoped that the execution of the Port's development projects decided upon since the end of the war, will increase the sea traffic with Asian and Pacific countries. While the first post-war development programme at a cost of £2m. has already been partly executed, a second phase of development has recently been authorised which will involve an expenditure of a further £2m. and which includes the provision of several new goods sheds and a great number of cranes in various quays.

Warehousing and transport services are catered for by several firms, including Arbuckle, Smith & Co. Ltd.

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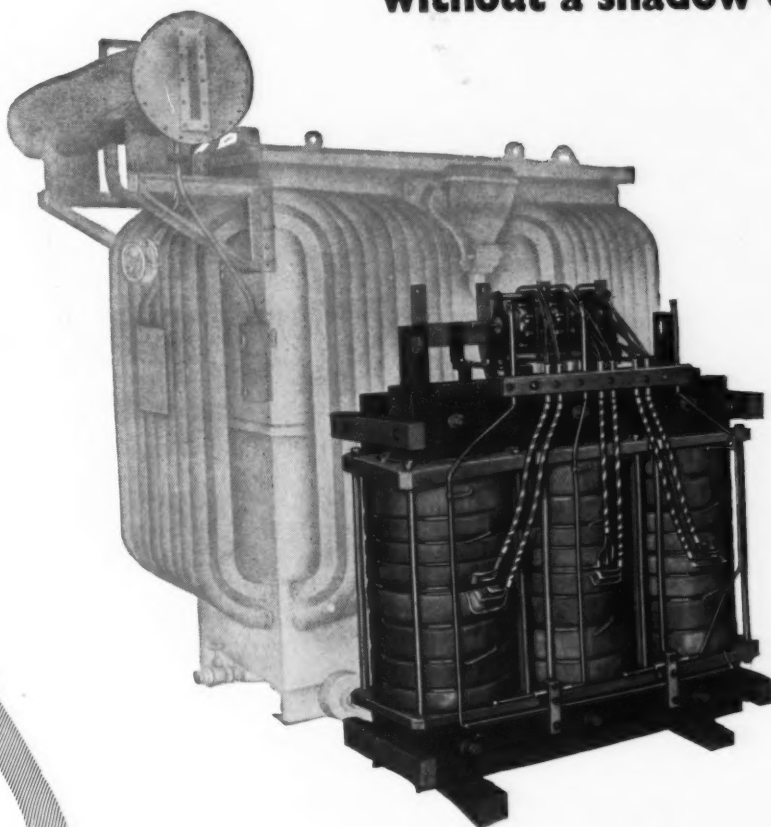
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